A Grammar of
The Buchan Dialect
(Aberdeenshire)

Descriptive and Historical

Vol. I

Phonology — Accidence

by

EUGEN DIETH, PH. D.

CAMBRIDGE
W. HEFFER & SONS LTD.
1932

12/6 net

Gift Aid item
20 70072427 0409

A Grammar of
The Buchan Dialect
(Aberdeenshire)

Descriptive and Historical

Vol. I

Phonology — Accidence

by

EUGEN DIETH, PH. D.

CAMBRIDGE
W. HEFFER & SONS LTD.
1932

PRINTED BY ASCHMANN & SCHELLER, ZURICH

TO MY MOTHER

Preface.

This is not the first time that the vernacular speech of Aberdeenshire has been investigated. H. Mutschmann's 'A Phonology of the North-Eastern Scotch Dialect' (Bonn 1909) also covers our area, but there is, in my opinion, room for another work. In fact the above treatise largely suggested my own and indicated the objective to aim at, viz. a full and accurate record of the living speech of a small but, on the whole, uniform area.

There are many features which the Scottish English dialects, as spoken North of Dee, have in common. But there are also numerous local differences, which, in a work like Mutschmann's, should be clearly marked and delimited. Instead of that he contented himself with presenting a collection of typical words, drawn, for all we know, from anywhere between Aberdeen and Nairn. This and the fact that a good many of his forms are obsolete, is the reason for the frequent discrepancies between his account and ours. One feels that the author compiled his book sitting at his desk, out of touch with the life and spirit of the local people and unaware of the niceties, the subtleties and the tendencies of the real speech. I hope I shall not be found guilty of the same shortcomings. The difficulties I had to contend with were neither fewer nor less than my predecessor's, being also a stranger to the dialect. Hence the long time this book has taken to finish. And it would not be ready yet, had I not decided to publish the syntax as a second and separate volume.

Mutschmann thought it fit to finish up with a note which, if it were true, would condemn my work as hopeless both from the speaker's and my own point of view. He says: 'I prefer to leave the treatment of the syntactical structure as well as the inflections of the N.-E. Scotch dialect to a

native of that region who is acquainted with the idiom from childhood. All I can say on this subject is, that there the destruction of the native element has gone much farther than in the phonetic part — so far indeed, that hardly any peculiarities remain to be recorded.' With this sweeping statement my work in the North-East has led me to disagree entirely, as will be seen from the following pages.

A native, no doubt, would have been in a more advantageous position. Whilst I have been compelled to turn to my informants for every single form, he could have had recourse to his own speech, provided it was genuine. Inquiries among my students in Aberdeen, however, revealed the fact that whilst the majority of them can speak *braid Scots*, few would pass as reliable dialect speakers. The best authority, I found, is the intelligent but not over-educated man in the country.

This record of the Buchan speech is the outcome of several lengthy visits to a farm some three miles north of Turriff and some seven miles off the Moray coast. The fact that I allowed a year or more to elapse between my various visits should be a safeguard against faulty hearing. With every return to my informants the sounds impressed themselves afresh on my ears. Quiggin, who recorded the Irish dialect of Donegal as a 'stranger' to it, counted this method of inestimable value; cf. his Preface.

Some of my transcriptions may look rather bold, and arouse scepticism in the reader who is familiar with the vernacular. This may be the case with the vowels under secondary stress, for example, where, as a rule, I refused to symbolize with ə. The use of this symbol — at least with a narrow transcription — is an easy and cheap way of settling problems. ɨ ɪ and e ɛ under secondary stress often should not be taken to mean any more than suggestions of *i* and *e*-timbre. See the respective chapters.

The phonetic alphabet (clarendon type) is that of the International Phonetic Association, and is now most commonly used in English books. The symbol ɨ (cf. p. 5, footnote 1) has

been added to suit our Scottish purposes; it is to be preferred to ɪ with a hook, as introduced by Grant.

Of course I am in no way blind to the many imperfections of this work. For inconsistencies and errata I have no other excuse than lack of leisure owing to my other occupations. I hope my English will not try the indulgence of the reader too much.

In conclusion it is my pleasant duty to express my warmest thanks to the many Scottish friends and helpers in this work. I had the great fortune of discussing some of my findings with Mr. F. C. Diack, a native speaker of Aberdeenshire Scots. To him I owe infinite gratitude for his encouraging help and never-failing suggestions. I am equally indebted to my informants: Mr. Alexander Henry and Mrs. Henry, the baillie of Yonderton and his wife. They supplied nearly all of the material; with never-flagging enthusiasm they talked and explained to me. This is hardly possible to anyone who does not feel a lively interest in the mysterious working of the human speech and the peculiarities of a local dialect. My thanks are also due to various people at Byth, Gamrie and elsewhere, who obliged me by either furnishing material themselves or introducing me to genuine speakers. I also gratefully acknowledge the help which Mr. R. L. Cassie, a native of Byth, rendered me by coming to the Phonetics Laboratory of University College London, to enable us to record his speech on the kymograph. In preparing the Index I had the competent and kind assistance of Dr. W. Clauss, professor at the Zurich Gymnasium. To all these friends, without whose help these pages would not have been written, my cordial thanks are extended.

I finally express my obligation to the trustees of the 'Stiftung für wissenschaftliche Forschung' at Zurich University for a substantial grant towards the printing expenses.

Zurich
October 1932. E. D.

Contents.

Part I. Phonology.

	Page
The Vowels. Description of Articulation	1
Vowels in Accented Syllables	7
iː iˑ i	8
eː eˑ e	20
aː aˑ a	29
oː oˑ o	34
uː uˑ u	36
Vowel-Shift	38
ɪ ɜ	39
ʌ	48
ɐi aˑe	52
ʌu	58
Quantity of Vowels	59
Shortening Due to Stopping	61
Shortening Due to Suffixes	64
Lengthening	67
Glides	70
Vowels in Unaccented Syllables	72
Word-Stress	78
The Consonants	85
Aspiration	86
Voice	87
Devocalisation	88
Lenisation	88
Semivowels w j	90
Nasals m n ŋ	92
Liquids r l, Metathesis	99
Fricatives s z, ʃ ʒ (sk)	103
θ ð	108
ç x, h	112
f v	114
wh-	116

Page

Plosives b d g 123
p t k 131
Affricates tʃ dʒ 133

Part II. Accidence.

The Endings.

Inflectional Endings.
Nominal 137
Verbal 139
Formative Endings.
Verb-forming 142
Noun-forming 143
Adjective-forming 146

Declension.

Nouns 147
Adjectives 148
Pronouns 151

Conjugation.

Strong Verbs 154
Mixed Verbs 167
Weak Verbs 168
Minor Groups 171

Specimen Texts 177

Index 185

Abbreviations.

Sc.	Scotch.
StSc.	Standard Scotch.
MSc.	Middle Scotch.
StE.	Standard English.
OE.	Old English.
ME.	Middle English.
Fr.	French.
OFr.	Old French.
AFr.	Anglo-French.
G.	German.
StG.	Standard German.
OHG.	Old High German.
MHG.	Middle High German.
LG.	Low German.
MLG.	Middle Low German.
(M)Du.	(Middle) Dutch.
ON.	Old Norse.
Scand.	Scandinavian.
Swed.	Swedish.
Norw.	Norwegian.
Da.	Danish.
Icel.	Icelandic.
Goth.	Gothic.
Gael.	Gaelic.
Idg.	Indogermanic.
Angl.	Anglian.
(O)Nhbr.	(Old) Northumbrian.
Lat.	Latin.
Germ.	Germanic.
Teut.	Teutonic.

CScotland	Central Scotland.
N-E.	North-East.
Y.	Yonderton.
B.	Byth.
w.	West.

sb.	substantive.
vb.	verb.
adj.	adjective.
adv.	adverb.
pron.	pronoun.
inf.	infinitive.
pres.p.	present participle.
pt.	past tense.
pret.	preterite.
pp.	past participle.
str.	strong.
wk.	weak.
sg.	singular.
pl.	plural.
dim.	diminutive.
comp.	comparative.
sup.	superlative.
cpd.	compound.
cl.	class.

>	has become.
*	prefixed to a word indicates a form not actually found but inferred.
†	obsolete.

Bibliography.

Works Referred to in the Grammar.

Dictionaries and Periodicals.

OED. — The New (Oxford) English Dictionary. Oxford 1888—1928.
MED. — F. H. Stratmann, A Middle-English Dictionary, ed. H. Bradley. Oxford 1891.
EDD. — J. Wright, The English Dialect Dictionary. Oxford 1896—1905.
Bosworth-Toller — An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Oxford 1898; Supplement 1908.
Jamieson, John — An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language, 4 vols. Edinburgh 1841.
Falk-Torp — Norwegisch-Dänisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. Heidelberg 1910/11.
Idiotikon — Schweizerisches Idiotikon, Wörterbuch der schweizerdeutschen Sprache. Frauenfeld 1881—.
Anglia — Zeitschrift für engl. Philologie, ed. H. M. Flasdieck. Halle 1878—.
Angl. Bbl. — Beiblatt zur Anglia, ed. M. F. Mann. Halle.
ESt. — Englische Studien, Organ für engl. Philologie, ed. Joh. Hoops. Leipzig.
Palaestra — Untersuchungen und Texte aus der deutschen und engl. Philologie, ed. A. Brandl. Berlin.

Historical and Descriptive Grammars.

Sievers E. — Angelsächsische Grammatik[3]. Halle 1898.
Bülbring K. — Altenglisches Elementarbuch. Heidelberg 1902.
Morsbach L. — Mittelenglische Grammatik. Halle 1896. (MEGr.)
Jordan R. — Handbuch der mittelengl. Grammatik. Heidelberg 1925.
Luick K. — Historische Grammatik der engl. Sprache. Leipzig 1913–.
Sweet H. — (I) A New English Grammar, Logical and Historical, Pt. I. Oxford 1892. (NEGr.)
(II) History of English Sounds. Oxford 1888.
Jesp(ersen) O. — (I) A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, Pt. I. Heidelberg 1909.
(II) Growth and Structure of the English Language[5]. Oxford 1927.
Horn W. — Historische neuengl. Grammatik. Straßburg 1908. (NEGr.)

Wyld H. C. — (I) A Short History of English[8]. London 1927.
(II) The Historical Study of the Mother Tongue. London 1926.

MEGr., see Morsbach.
NEGr., see Sweet (I), Horn.
Wyld, see Wyld H. C. (I).

Dialect Grammars and Monographs.

Murray J. — The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland. Trans. Phil. Soc. London 1873.
Wright J. — (I) The English Dialect Grammar. Oxford 1905. (EDGr.)
(II) A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill. London 1892.
Ellis A. J. — On Early English Pronunciation. Pt. V. London 1889.
Grant W. and Dixon M. — Manual of Modern Scots. Cambridge 1921.
Mutschmann H. — A Phonology of the North-Eastern Scotch Dialect. Bonner Studien zur engl. Philologie I. Bonn 1909. Rev. Luick K., Angl. Bbl. XXI 33—40.
Ritter O. — Die Mundart des nordöstlichen Schottland. ESt. 46, 9—65.
Luick K. — Studien zur englischen Lautgeschichte. Wien 1903.
Cowling G. H. — The Dialect of Hackness (North-East Yorkshire). Cambridge 1915.
Reaney P. H. — A Grammar of the Dialect of Penrith (Cumberland). Manchester 1927.
Wilson J. — (I) Lowland Scotch (Strathearn District of Perthshire). London 1915.
(II) The Dialects of Central Scotland (Lothian, Fifeshire). London 1926.
Gregor W. — The Dialect of Banffshire. Trans. Phil. Soc. London 1866.
Curtis F. J. — The Middle Scotch Romance of Clariodus. Anglia XVI 387—450, XVII 1—68, 125—160.
Müller P. — Die Sprache der Aberdeener Urkunden des 16. Jahrhunderts. Berlin Diss. 1908.
Sander — Die Reimsprache in Stewarts Chronicle und der mittelschottische Dialekt. Berlin 1906.
Horn W. — Beiträge zur Geschichte der engl. Gutturallaute. Berlin 1901.
Flom G. T. — Scandinavian Influence on Southern Lowland Scotch. New York 1900.

M., see Mutschmann.
EDGr., see Wright (I).
Wright = Dialect of Windhill.
Grant = Grant W. and Dixon M.

Books on Pronunciation.

Jones D. — An English Pronouncing Dictionary. London 1926.
Grant W. — The Pronunciation of English in Scotland. Cambridge 1913.

Texts.

B Br. — Barbour's Bruce, ed. W. W. Skeat E. E. T. S. 1899.
JG. — 'Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk' by William Alexander, 18th ed. Edinburgh 1919.
AF. — 'Life Among My Ain Folk' by William Alexander, 2nd ed. Edinburgh 1882.
Gl(impses) — 'Glimpses o' Auld Lang Syne' by W. Watson, ed. Alex. Mackie. Aberdeen 1905.

Corrections and Additions.

p. 1 l. 17 read 73 for 74.
p. 6 l. 14 read 'skimming' for 'skumming'.
p. 8 l. 26 delete 'Deeside'.
p. 10 l. 21/22 the entry for **fe·rle** should read 'cf. OE. *fǽrlic* G. *(ge-) fährlich* 'wonder' sb.'.
p. 20 l. 9 read 76 for 77. — l. 12 read **le·θ** for **le:ð**. — l. 15 read '*scéada*' for '*scéad*'.
p. 22 l. 4 add: 'the variant **gled** with short **e** may be according to § 36a'. — l. 7 read '**tre·vl** 'to walk'.'
p. 24 l. 22 read 'Martinmas' for 'Martinmass'.
p. 27 l. 13 read 'axe' for 'ax'.
p. 30 l. 21 read 74 for 76.
p. 31 l. 24 read 79 for 78. — l. 28 read 'off' for 'of'.
p. 33 l. 25 delete 'throw', substitute the definition of *warp* in the Index.
p. 36 l. 16 read **çjuk** for **xjuk**.
p. 41 l. 25 read 90c for 90b.
p. 48 l. 9 read **ðə** for **də**.
p. 56 l. 3 read 'I wot' for 'I wote'.
p. 57 l. 23 add: cf. the names of little bays south of Fraserburgh in the parish of Rathen: *Boat Hive, Broad Hive, Washing Hive.*
p. 61 l. 12 The *ie* in G. *riet, Lied* may be equally short in the mouth of a German, who says **li·t**, but it is certainly less shortened in **li·d̥** as pronounced by a Swiss G. talking StG.
p. 62 footnote 1 read 'fricatives' for 'frivatives'.
p. 64 l. 5 read 'water in motion' for 'puddle of water'.
p. 65 l. 6 This etymology has the support of the modern speech-feeling (it is common to look at mould as hair; cf. Swiss G. *s'Brōt het Hār und Bart*, lit. 'the bread has hair and beard'; also *Bart* = mould Idiotikon IV 1614). The two facts that there is also the simple adj. **here** 'mouldy' (not, however, recorded by OED., EDD.), and that EDD. registers a compound *hair-mould* for Scotland cannot be used as evidence. *hoar* and *hoary*, on the other hand, can claim wide-spread use in the sense of musty, mouldy (cf. OED., EDD.). Jamieson has an adjective *hair* 'moist, damp' — no doubt our *hoar*, and identical with **ha:r** 'sea-fog' — to which he adds "this sense remains in *hair-mould* a name given to that kind of mouldiness which appears on bread, &c. and in *hayr rym*, hoar frost". This proves the existence, in earlier times, of the adj. **he:ᵊr** 'hoar' inferred in § 27; it survives, though no longer recognized, in **here** 'hoary'.

p. 68 Note 2. The immediate history of our **spe·n** 'to wean' is not clear. Is it from OE. *spanan* 'illicere' or from a wk. vb. derived from OE. *spane* 'teat' (both words may be ultimately related; cf. Falk-Torp 1117) or from both? The fact that it means ablactare and not lactare speaks in favour of the former, so does the spelling *spane* (Falk-Torp l. c. puts *spane* = OE. *spanan*). OED. makes no mention of this source but traces *spane* to OFr. *espanir* [a borrow from OFrankish] or MLG. *spanen*. Whichever the source, our argument in Note 2 holds good. The variant *spean* is taken by OED. to be a later form of *spane* or to represent MLG., MHG. *spenen*, G. dial. *spänen*. Our **spe·n** might be identical with this (cf. § 32), not however Windhill **speən**. This problem, treated on a Germanic basis would make an interesting monograph.

p. 81 l. 23 delete Note. — l. 29 read 76 for 77.

p. 91 l. 26 read '*tave*' for '*taave*'.

p. 98 footnote 5 the *j* in *jederen* may be vocalic.

p. 102 l. 24 read 'cf. OE. *ælc*' for 'OE. *ilca*'.

p. 104 l. 5 read '*reesle*, loud clatter' for 'rustle'.

p. 105 l. 24 read 'shroud' for 'shrowd'. — l. 30 delete '**ska·e** ON. *ský* 'sky'.' l. 31 read 'cf. ON. *skýt-*' for 'ON. *skýta*'.

p. 108 l. 19 read 'ME. *hepen*' for 'OE. *heoðan*'. — l. 30 read 'vacillating'.

p. 110 l. 3 '*léaðor*' for '*leaðor*'.

p. 112 l. 25 read 'ON. *plóg-r*' for 'OE. *plóh*'.

p. 116 l. 18 read the words in italics with *wh*.

p. 118 l. 24 add 'according to § 69.1.' after expect.

p. 122 l. 17 read '(with) a swish-tail' for 'whisker-ed' and cf. EDD. VI 468.

p. 126 l. 23 read [2]) for [1]).

p. 133 l. 25 add as a further example **darg** < *dark* < **daark* < *daywark* 'to work as a day-labourer'.

p. 136 l. 2. The explanation offered for the non-assibilated **k** in **strik** 'stretch', **θik** 'thatch' &c. does not fully satisfy, since the syncopated forms *strecst* &c. are only Southern; besides the **i:** was explained (§ 20 Note 4) as the normal development in disyllabic forms like *streces*. – l. 26 read Note 3 for Note 2.

p. 139 l. 11 delete **we·fs** 'waves'.

p. 140 l. 5 read 'sold by auction' for 'drove out'.—l. 27 delete footnote 1.

p. 143 l. 11 ff. delete the example **ʃort** and add **di:v** 'deafen', **ʟauz** 'loosen'.

p. 145 l. 1 read '*-ere*' for '*ære*'.

p. 146 l. 22 add 'because of its oddity'. The word **'kenspekl** is now often misapplied for 'conspicuous'.

p. 153 l. 14 read 73 for 74.

p. 158 l. 9 read '*win*×' for '*win*'. — l. 10 delete (**-a-**). — l. 16 read **hɪŋ*** for **hɪŋ**.

Introduction.

Buchan, at one time the Earldom of Buchan, is part of Aberdeenshire and occupies the extreme corner of the North-East of Scotland. It is the territory that lies between Deveron (di·vrɪn) and Ythan (əiθn) and the coast. The neighbouring districts are Formartin and Garioch (ðə gi·rɪ). When speaking of Buchan in a more general sense, Formartin, the district between Ythan and Don is included. Leaving Aberdeen in a northern direction means going to Buchan.

Buchan, even in its wider sense, is only part of Ellis's division, D 39, which embraces not only the whole of Aberdeenshire, but also the English-speaking parts of Banffshire, Morayshire (called Elgin by Ellis) and Nairn. This wide area, which Mutschmann claims to represent in his Phonology of the North-Eastern Dialect, is too varied, linguistically, to yield to summary treatment. The reader of Mutschmann's treatise infers that the forms registered are current throughout all these counties. Occasional data added in the footnotes of our account sufficiently indicate the heterogeneous character of D 39. From this it does not, of course, follow that D 39 is not clearly marked off as an independent division.

The dialect recorded on these pages is, strictly speaking, that of West Buchan. It is essentially the speech of Mrs. Mary Henry, the wife of Alexander Henry, the cattleman at Yonderton of Craigston near Turriff. She has lived all her life in the district on Deveron, which runs into the sea at Banff.

On several brief visits to Byth (bəiθ) and other villages near the heart of Buchan, I had, however, occasion to find that the whole area that this book professes to represent, is more or less uniform. Unless otherwise stated our rendering may be taken to be the current pronunciation throughout

Buchan. Exception must, however, be made of the fishing villages along the coast, specially between Banff and Fraserburgh, locally called the *Broch* (brox). Here nearly every place nurses its own speech. There is a little bay with two villages, Gamrie (ge·mre) and Crovie (krɪvɪ), nestling between the rising surf and the rocky cliffs behind. They are little more than a stone's throw from each other and separated, though not blocked out of sight, by a slightly projecting promontory. Gamrie says leg, Crovie ləig, to mention but one difference.

The fisher dialects, then, are a study by themselves, and only occasional mention will be made of their features. The City of Aberdeen should also be excluded from our area, belonging, as it does, together with Deeside, to the former division of Mar.

The general aspect of this corner of Scotland is rural. Growing oats and barley and rearing cattle and sheep are the two principal activities. The home-industry of handloom weaving (hɑ·nli·m wəivɪn), once practised, as I was told at Byth, in every cottage has completely disappeared.

The farming population largely lives on isolated farms. The servants are either accommodated in the *cottar hoose*, the unpretentious *but an' ben* cottage or, if unmarried, in a *bothy* (boθe) with the common-room called the *chalmer* (tʃɑ:mɛr). Intercourse with the outside world is almost confined to the nearest market town. The population may be called migratory in so far as on each of the two term-days a crowd of young servants turn up in the *feein' mart* looking out for new masters. From a philological point of view it is worthy of note that this changing of masters is, as a rule, effected within a certain range of the market town. Our dialects, therefore, need not fear destruction from a mixing up of speakers hailing from different dialect areas. The surplus population mostly emigrates; there is hardly a humble cottage that has not relations in Canada or Australia.

The chief enemies of the dialect are, without a doubt, the press, the pulpit and above all the public school, that

systematic suppression of anything with a local flavour. Time and again I was told by way of explanation: 'We're no longer allowed to say that'. The result is most deplorable; not because Standard English takes the place of good old *braid Scots* — from a utilitarian point of view that would be an excellent thing, well worth the price — but because the effort almost invariably ends in a compromise. The young folk have no sooner escaped the *dominie's* rod, than they slip back, unconsciously, to their natural way of talking. The return, however, is not complete; the effect of the teaching lingers on in their speech. fredɑ: for Friday is banished by the teacher and fraɪdeɪ taught instead; the hybrid freɪdɪ, however, is the result. Utilitarians might argue that thereby the extreme, dialectal form had been mitigated and made at least universally intelligible. True, but the dialect henceforward is dead. The influence of the school should be directed towards bilingualism, in harmonious proportions of course.

It is a commonplace to speak of the dying doric and to accept this disintegration as bound to run its full course. It most certainly will, unless the schools step in, not killing but saving. Instead of simply condemning for instance the use of *sharp* (ʃarp) as a verb as wrong, the young generation should be told that their dialectal form of the verb is just as genuine as or even more genuine than StE. sharpen, so far as the ending is concerned. Most people are inclined to take it to be a deterioration of the authorized form.

A typical instance of the levelling effect of the one-sided education is the substitution of the pres. p. for the pp. in the construction of the negated predicative attribute, e. g. *ongreetin', onleein'* for *ongrutt'n, onlee't* 'without crying, telling a lie'. The educated youth is having the StE. phrase so thoroughly inculcated, that he refuses to believe in the genuineness of forms like *ongrutt'n* &c. If this typical expression is to be saved from extinction, its character needs to be pointed out and explained (cf. Syntax).

It is interesting to note that the levelling tendency —

regression it is sometimes termed by philologists — must have made itself felt already a hundred years ago. The correspondent for St. Fergus to the Statistical Account of Scotland (vol. XII p. 197) wrote in 1837: 'It (the local dialect, which he calls Broad Buchan) has been losing during the last forty years much of its provincial peculiarity and assimilating itself more and more in phraseology at least to the English tongue. Many of the words and forms of expressions used by very old people are scarcely intelligible to the rising generation.' This statement may serve as an indication of how much of the vocabulary we must have lost by now. Words are dropping out of existence or losing their local forms at a greater rate now than then: fʌp 'whip', ʌusɳ 'oxen' are nearly gone. Good old words of daily occurrence like nju:z or krʌk 'to talk', fɪn (as in ʌm ne: fɪnɪn wi·l 'I am not feeling well', jɪ wɪdnə fɪn ə sti·n 'you would not feel a stone' going on the road), tre·vɭ 'to walk', lɨft 'sky', trʌmp (as in hɪ trʌmpɪt on mʌ te:z 'he trod on my toes'), even spe·n 'to wean' are threatened to be ousted by their StE. equivalents or to be deprived of their special meaning. Similarly words like wəiv for 'knit', su·n or dɪn for 'noise', wɪrd for 'voice' (as in ɑ kenz wɪrd 'I know his voice', hɪ hɪz ə sʌft wɪrd 'he has a soft voice'), de·l, ho·l ðə tɑ·tez for 'to dig the potatoes' and finally also vrɪçt for 'carpenter', are doomed to yield one day to the StE. intruders. These strangers are allowed to come in unchecked[1]), whether from literary Scots (e.g. we·nz for lɨtlɪnz 'little ones', which is really unknown north of Dee) or the standard speech. The best chances to escape destruction are with words of much connotative value, which renders them difficult to replace, e.g. θrɑ:n 'stubborn', swi:r 'slow to', driç 'tedious' &c.

Whether the result of the change be a new word or not, the sound-form, as a general rule, remains native: wɑ:k

[1]) Mutschmann was actually misled into recording dezə 'daisy' for the common Scots gʌum *gowan*; Wright (EDGr.) mentions bi·ld 'to build' for our common bɪg *tae big*.

'walk', mʌne 'money', skɑ·e 'sky', vəis beside voɪs 'voice', noɪz 'noise'; cf. xʌip § 21 Note 2, bʊtʃɛr § 62 Note. Usually the change ends in the compromise mentioned above, viz. the StE. form being pronounced in the Buchan way: rəit 'right, write', dɑ:tɛr 'daughter', e·rθ 'earth', ge·t for jɪt 'gate', 'tʃʌrnɛn'de for 'kɪrnɛn'de 'churning day', (əili-, əil- or even) oɪl lʌmp for i·li lʌmp 'oil lamp'.

There is, as we see, a limit to the approach of the average speaker to the standard form. Scottish schoolteachers find it at once impossible and inadvisable to 'improve' the northern vernacular articulation of sounds.

A man's native speech is part of himself; his articulation part of his physiological system. No logical reasoning, therefore, will induce a Buchan speaker to reform his way of pronouncing the plosives (cf. § 100) or diphthongs &c. It is different with syntax, whose standard can be taught and explained and, what is more, learnt by the side of the dialectal usage. In their fight against the use of multiple adverbs and prepositions, against the Scottish use of *to mind, seek, learn, want, a doot* &c. schoolteachers are all too apt to discard the local form as bad or inferior. They should try to create a feeling for its special value and thus preserve it.

Already it is late in the day, and the best chances have no doubt been missed. When James Murray three quarters of a century ago began to take a scientific interest in dialects and their true qualities, from which resulted his leading work on Southern Scots (1873), disciples and followers were very slow in coming forward. Even yet few dialects have been submitted to a philological investigation. A decisive step was taken in 1908, when the Scottish Dialects Committee was formed with the object of supplementing the existing dictionaries and fixing accurately the pronunciation of every form according to districts. Thanks to the keen enthusiasm of Dr. William Grant, the convener, whose activities in recording the Scottish dialects by script and gramophone were broken in upon by the war, a fresh appeal has recently

been launched by the committee for assistance in the compiling of a new Scottish dictionary on the lines of the New (Oxford) English Dictionary. The first instalments have already appeared.

The general tone of the Buchan speech is quiet and even, i. e. of a small range. The flow is deliberate or even drawling. Buchan speakers do not indulge in high-sounding, bombastic expressions: the utmost delight is conveyed by phrases like ɑm re·ɛl gle·d tə si· jɪ 'I'm very glad to see you', or mɑn, ɪt wɪz grɑ·n 'it was indeed great'. jir di·ɪn fəin 'you're doing well' is about the greatest encouragement they have to give. They hardly ever make use of the superlative. A higher degree is expressed by the common and now colourless ˈɑ:fə 'awful'. On the other hand it is a common trait of this canny people to make rather the approach to a statement than the statement itself, e. g. ɪt wɪz ne: ðɑt ʌl 'it was quite nice', hɪ sɪdnə di:t 'it is wrong of him to do it'. The most remarkable fact is the almost complete absence of the word *love;* hɪ ləiks ɪr 'he likes her' is as far as they would go in words.

An historical grammar is naturally expected to remark on the possible ways in which the dialect under discussion may have been influenced by the language previously spoken in the district. Murray in 'The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland' believed in attributing Scottish peculiarities in any department of grammar to the native Gaelic speech (cf. our § 126). This problem of mixture is extremely difficult and requires to be handled by one who is thoroughly conversant with both Scottish Gaelic and Northern English as spoken now and specially at the time when Northumbrian came to the North-East. Though not qualified to decide on any particular point, I could not refrain from mentioning Murray's views in their respective places and raising objections to them, at least on general grounds.

From the point of view of the sounds and forms of Modern Buchan there is little foundation or necessity for assuming any Gaelic influence worth mentioning. There are certain

peculiar sounds (e.g. ɨ § 13) and sound developments (Northumbr. *ǭ* > *ā̆* > i: § 61; *ɣ* > ʌ § 63; *hw* > f § 124 ff.; *nd* > n § 129), but in trying to explain them from the Gaelic substratum we almost always come up against difficulties. Either Gaelic does not possess the sound which it is said to have supplied (cf. §§ 61, 63 Note 3 and O. Jespersen, 'Language' p. 193 Footnote) or, as in the case of *wh* > f, *nd* > n, the change is not known in districts more intimately connected with Gaelic than is Buchan (cf. §§ 126, 129), or the sound changes which are said to be common to both are of different range (e g. *s* > ʃ § 117 Note).

When we consider that Gaelic und Northumbrian English were once spoken side by side in a state of bilingualism we should expect to find traces of the mixture of the two languages. The Buchan system of forms is, however, entirely free of Gaelic elements. The two systems were too widely different to mix. Among the sounds there is very little that points to Gaelic influence (the unaspirated stops?); the svarabhakti vowels even, a feature of Gaelic and certain Scottish dialects, are no longer known (cf. § 111) and it is doubtful whether they have ever been used much. The most conspicuous traces of Scottish Gaelic are in the vocabulary, but even here they are comparatively few.

Part I.

Phonology.

The Vowels.

§ 1. The Buchan vowel system is made up of 5 longs, 10 shorts and 3 diphthongs.

iː	eː	ɑː	oː	uː
ɪ ɨ ɛ	e	a	ə o	ʌ
əi		ɑ·e		ʌu

In this table the two extreme varieties of shorts, i, u have been left out, as they owe their existence to the shortening of iː, uː by certain consonants. They do not exist independently; historic short *i, u,* as in StE. *pit, to put,* have developed into ɨ or ʌ, e.g. pɨt 'a pit, to put', pʌtn̩ 'put' pp.

A few loanwords have retained oɪ, e.g. ploɪ 'sport', boɪ 'boy', moɪɛn 'to use one's influence on behalf of another' (§ 82).

§ 2. The quantitative distinction is largely blurred[1]) owing to the phenomena of (I) stopping (§ 74) and, (II) less frequently, lengthening (§ 78), and is hardly possible except on philological grounds. The discriminating factor, therefore, is the quality. Compare the Buchan (and Scotch) pairs:

stɨk 'a stick'; pɨt 'a pit'; kɨst 'kissed'; stɨf 'stiff'.
stik 'to close'; pit 'a peat'; kist 'cast' pt.; dif 'deaf'.

ɑ hɪd ə kik əts fit 'I had a glance at his feet'.
hɪ gɪd ə kɨk wɨz fɨt 'he gave a kick with his foot'.

wik 'a week, a wick' differs from StE. wɪk 'a wick' not in quantity but in quality.

---

[1]) Similar conditions, though less pronounced, prevail in StE., a fact which should be clearly brought home to the English-learning foreigner who is accustomed to varying the quantity according to the quality and vice versa, e.g. G. zoːn *Sohn,* zɔne *Sonne.* The phonetic descriptions in grammars often lead the foreign student to see the main difference between *ship* and *sheep* in the quantity of the vowel, as if it were ʃip and ʃiːp, whilst the criterion is the quality: ʃɪp, ʃip.

§ 3. It should be borne in mind that, whatever the reduction of quantity, the quality is not essentially affected; (i: >) i does not coalesce with ɪ, and u:, when shortened, does not become ʊ. Therefore:

i e (a) o u can be heard short, half-long, long.
ɪ ɨ ɛ a ə ʌ can only be heard short (cf. § 78).

§ 4. While the quality of all other vowels is fixed, e and o move, according to the speaker and the position in the word, from a close to a more open variety, without ever opening to StE., ɛ, ɔ as in kɛə 'care', dɔə 'door'. These qualities do not exist in Buchan. The Aberdeen pronunciation of *Broadstreet* is 'bro·dstrit with o slightly opened.

For purposes of convenience we shall adopt e, o as our symbols and allow for opening as demanded (§§ 7, 9).

As a general rule long vowels are uniform, i.e. there is no leading on to nor away from them by glides (exceptions § 82) nor any attempt at diphthongizing as in StE.

Description of Articulation.

§ 5. There is but little lip movement; with i the lips are halfway spread, with u slightly protruded. We have purposely refrained from diagnosing the symptoms of tenseness and laxness except in obvious cases: e:, o: are tense, ɨ, ɛ thoroughly lax.

u: u· u

§ 6. This vowel is of one quality, though of varying quantity. The reduction may be complete. In its longest variety, e.g. when final, it is a little lower than both German and Gaelic u:. Listen to ku: as pronounced in the three languages. It is identical with StE. u: in *two* but not with ʊ in *book*.

u: 'wool', pu·ʒɪn 'poison', hux '*hooch*'.

o: o· o

§ 7. This vowel is of variable quality, opening slightly when shortened. Stopped o, however, is still distinct from the naturally short o. Compare ə go·t 'a goat' and ɑ got 'I got' (StE. gout and gɔt). The former is somewhat drawn and rather tenser than the latter. o: is heard the closest before r; allowing for the trilled r and the glide, ro:ər 'roar' sounds like G. ro:r *Rohr;* fo·l 'foal' comes very near G. vo:l *wohl.* wo: 'stop!', no·t 'note', lox 'loch', knok 'clock'.

ɑ: ɑ· a

§ 8. ɑ is the low-back vowel; a, which is always short, an advanced variety, something like StG. (Northern G.) a in *er hat.* The difference between ɑ: ɑ· and a comes out best in successive words like for ɑ: ðat 'for all that', saks kjɑ:ks 'six cakes'. For all practical purposes, however, the two sounds[1]) may be considered one, and throughout these pages ɑ will be used indifferently[2]). Note, ɑ is never dull as it may be heard in StE. fɑ:ðə; a is not so clear as in Fr. pat *patte.* kɑ:r 'calves', kɑ·p *'caup'*, kɑ·f 'calf'; kaf 'chaff', grat 'wept'.

e: e· e

§ 9. This is the exact parallel of o. The tenseness of e: relaxes with the shortening and is hardly noticeable with historical e (§ 35). Compare ge·t 'road' with get 'get'. The latter, though opener and laxer than the former is still tenser and closer than StE. gɛt[3]). e: at its closest, but only then, sounds like G. e:, cf. se:ər 'sore' ze:r *sehr;* te: 'toe'

---

[1]) Younger speakers seem to favour the palatal variety more.

[2]) The reader will not find it difficult to differentiate the two for himself, since they represent on the whole historically different vowels (§ 39 ff.).

[3]) D. Jones (p. VI) calls StE. *e* intermediate between cardinal e and cardinal ɛ, and he transcribes with e; W. Grant, on the other hand, in transcribing Sc. *e,* uses the symbol ɛ. These two facts put together give the very reverse picture of ours. They are, however, not meant to be of comparative value.

tʰe: *Tee.* With many speakers a half-open variety is heard, e.g. in words like gles 'glass', bres 'brass', het 'hot'.

We propose to symbolize long e, as in be·d 'bode, waited' and short e, as in bed 'a bed', alike. We thus obviate the temptation of pronouncing a word like *leg* in the StE. fashion. What is more, many an historically short *e* has been lengthened[1]) and thereby made closer and tenser, so that ɛ would no longer render it; e.g. he·l 'hell', he·n 'hen', fre·mt 'strange'.

e: 'one', gre·p 'fork', eb 'shallow'.

i: i· i

§ 10. This vowel is, irrespective of quantity, the high, pointed vowel, as heard in StE. bi: 'bee', G. bi:nə *Biene.*

ti: 'too', gli·b 'glebe', i·s 'use', hiç 'high', ʃit 'shoot'.

ɪ ɨ ɛ a ə ʌ

§ 11. These vowels never occur long. a may be considered the short of ɑ: (§ 8). ə is only met with in syllables of secondary or rather no stress.

Remain ɪ ɨ ɛ ʌ. They are the phonetician's worry. Ellis's authorities for D 39 — the North-East of Scotland —, who were keen enough but mostly untrained men, experienced these difficulties. W. Gregor, the compiler of the Banffshire Glossary says (Ellis p. 768): "*i* has several sounds, one in *fill, mill,* another in *wint* 'want' and a third in *fin* 'when' *hinmist* 'last'. The sound in *fill, him* comes nearest to the sound of *yes, yet;* the sound in *wint* may be represented by the sound of *i* in *window* [!]. In *fin* the sound comes nearest to the sound in *pin.*" Dr. Murray then conjectured what might be meant, which is an impossible task, since Gregor's pronunciation of the key words would need to be determined first. The comparison that Mutschmann makes with Northern Welsh *dun* is of little use, though, according to Ellis (p. 768), conditions appear to be very similar to ours. "In both", says Ellis, "we have an *ii* vowel

[1]) With e: being 'stopped' and e lengthened the two meet at e· and the difference of quantity is thus obliterated.

verging to an *(ə)* vowel." The cause of the confusion is the fact that ɪ ɨ ɛ ʌ, all stand or may stand for MSc. *i*, so that they cannot be separated historically but merely phonetically. Whilst there are positions where one quality only is admissible (§ 56), there are others where two or three qualities are interchangeable (§ 63): fɨʃ, fɛʃ, fʌʃ and wɨn, wɛn, wʌn are alternative forms for StE. *fish* and *win*.

ɪ

§ 12. ɪ, the *i*-sound lowered, agrees with StG. ɪ, as in mɪt *mit*, zɪtə *Sitte*, but not entirely with StE. ɪ, as in hɪt 'hit', which is lower. In front of *-nt* it may be heard more open: mɪnt 'to allude'. Along the coast (Gamrie) it is opened out to ɛ.

hɪŋ 'hang', bɪnər 'humour', gɪzn̩ 'to make leaky'.

ɨ

§ 13. ɨ, the lowered *i* retracted and still further lowered,[1]) is a most peculiar sound and most difficult for an outsider to acquire. Comic papers, caricaturing a Scotchman render it with *u*, e.g. *fush* (fʌʃ) for *fish*, i.e. with the quality that is congenial to an English mouth. My pronunciation of ɨ seems to come off best when raising my tongue above the ə position, but advancing it slightly towards ɪ,[2]) keeping it at the same time flattened out. ɨ is pronounced extremely slack,[3]) with every muscle at ease. The result is a neutral, rather bodiless vowel, although not quite so colourless as ə. Considering its place of articulation we understand its interchanging with ɪ and particularly ɛ and ʌ. They are its neighbours above, in front and at the back of it.

lɨθ 'joint', kɨrn 'churn', jɨt 'yet'.

---

[1]) The horizontal middle bar is meant to convey the idea of retraction from the ɪ position.

[2]) In D. Jones's sound chart (prefixed to his Pron. Dict.) it would have to be marked between ə and i, on a level with əː (StE. həːl 'hurl'), with which it has otherwise nothing in common.

[3]) StE. əː, on the other hand, is very tense and always long.

ɛ

§ 14. ɛ and ʌ are both lower than the corresponding StE. sounds. The shade of ɛ is between StE. ɛ (kɛə 'care') and æ. It is only heard from people speaking 'broad'; they use it for ɪ in monosyllables under stress (§ 56).[1]) For ɛ in unaccented syllables see § 83.

θɛn 'thin', lɛft 'sky', bɛk 'bitch'.

ʌ

§ 15. ʌ is of a low, dull shade, pronounced with the jaw lowered. This brings it even closer to ɑ and ɔ than it is marked in the sound chart for StE. The pronunciation of ʌ in front of nasals suggests a tinge of ɑ or o; listen to grʌnɪ 'grannie', stʌnɪn 'standing', ə'mʌn 'among' besides ə'mo (§ 99); 'ʌmən 'woman', skʌmən 'skumming'; see also § 64.

wʌl 'erring', strʌndʒ 'sour', bʌxt 'a hut', stʌdɪ 'anvil'.

əi ʌu ɑ·e

§ 16. Of the three diphthongs the last might be termed a triphthong; see below. oɪ (§ 1) is rare and not genuine. e:ɛ (§§ 27, 30), o:ɛ (§ 47) and the glides (§ 82) cannot be said to make real diphthongs since they partake of two syllables.

The three are falling diphthongs, ə, ʌ, ɑ being more sonorous than i, u, e. The transcription with əi, ʌu does not do full justice to the actual facts; for əi[2]) often sounds fuller and ʌu thinner, and yet with ɛi we should be overdoing, with əu underdoing it.

The third of our diphthongs has been variously described, and it is no doubt differently heard throughout Scotland. But

---

[1]) M. uses ɛ for our e; § 32 he gives gɛrs 'grass', kɛrt 'cart' as key-words for our gɪrs, ke·rt.

[2]) Just the same əi can be heard in the Swabian dialect (Fischer, Atlas zur Geographie der schwäb. Ma.; 12: tsəit) e.g. at Stuttgart, and a very near approach to it in some isolated parts of Switzerland like Schanfigg or Engelberg; cf. vəipli *Weiblein*: Buchan wəifi 'wifie'.

Mutschmann is utterly wrong in supposing the second element to be the same as in əi[1]). Even StE. aɪ, with ɪ as its second part does not come near it;[2]) cf. StE. faɪv and Buchan fɑ·ev 'five'. bɑ·e 'to buy' resembles bɑ·e 'a small ball', except that the latter is disyllabic. The first element is always long and therefore predominating. What follows may be e alone or eᵻ, eɪ.

We shall adopt ɑ·e as our mode of representing this combination of vowels, thereby allowing for the variants ɑ·eᵻ, ɑ·eɪ, ɑ·ɪ.

Vowels in Accented Syllables.

Historical Description.

§ 17. It will now be shown where these vowels occur and where they come from. This unhistorical way seems to be justified for two reasons: (I) it admits of a better idea of the modern state of things; (II) M. has gone the other way and followed up the fate of the MSc. vowels to the present day. Ample use has been made of his lists, so far as the words could be traced, but a good many more examples have been added. In not a few cases — particularly with i:—e:, əi—ɑ·e, ɪ ɨ ɛ ʌ — our records differ from M.'s, and the words are here grouped accordingly. Alternative forms will be found to be less numerous than with M. and, if possible, geographically delimited.

---

[1]) M.'s notion of the two diphthongs is extremely muddled although in Buchan they are neatly distinguished, either being confined to certain positions (§ 65). The same word he transcribes both ways: **spœik** (meaning **spəik**?) and **spaik**. His **kwɑ·en** (§ 41) for '*a quine,* a lassie', is never heard throughout Buchan, it is invariably **kwəin**. True, it is the form found in Ellis's list (p. 766) — this seems to be M.'s source —, which would point to ɑ·e having been much more common only 50 years ago.

[2]) M. (§ 41): "This diphthong is identical with the diphthong in Engl. *line.*"

i: i· i

§ 18. 1. From earlier[1]) *ō̤* (< OE., ON. *ó*, ME. *ō̤*, OE. *ŭ-*, *ŏ*) except before k, x and partly r (§ 50).

di: OE. *dón* 'do', ti: OE. *tó* 'too', ʃi: OE. *scóh* 'shoe', i:r OE. *óra* 'ore, metal', fli:r (§ 50) OE. *flór* 'floor', mi:r OE. *mór* 'moor', pi:r ME. *pō̤re* 'poor', 'fi:rzdɪ ON. *þórsdag-r* 'Thursday', i·l OE. *ʒeól* 'yule' (§ 106), pi·l OE. *pól* 'pool', sti·l 'stool', ti·l 'tool', 'hilɪ (§ 122) ON. *hófliga* 'hoolie, gently', ti·m OE. *tóm* 'empty', bri·m 'broom', gi·m OE. *ʒóma* 'gum', li·m 'loom', mi·n OE. *móna* 'moon', si·n 'soon', spi·n 'spoon', (eftər-)ni·n 'noon', mi:v ME. *mō̤ve* 'move', ri:z ON. *hrósa* 'praise', bri·dɪr OE. *bróðor* 'brother', bli·d OE. *blód* 'blood', sti·d 'stood', ri·f OE. *hróf* 'roof', pri·f ME. *prōve* 'proof', ti·θ OE. *tóþ* 'tooth', gi·s OE. *ʒós* 'goose', ri·st OE. *hróst* 'roost for hens', rit ON. *rót* 'root', bit ME. *bō̤te* 'boot', bit OE. *behófode* 'behoved' (§ 171), grip ON. *gróp* 'pavement in the byre'; cf. pt. of cl. VI § 158.

From OE. *ŭ-* (Luick § 393): ə'bi·n StSc. *aboon* OE. *on bufan* 'above', i·mɪst OE. *ufemest* 'uppermost', ʃi·l OE. *scofl (?)* 'shovel' (Luick § 379 Anm. 3).

From OE. *ŏ* + *ld* (§ 130), *-rd:* gwi·l OE. *ʒold* 'yellow'; *mi·lz (cf. EDD. *meel* and Wilson for Fife *muils*) I only heard as mu·lz (§ 50). Similarly Sc. *fuird* 'ford' always has ju: (§ 50).

From French-ME. *ū̃:* i·s ME. *ūs* 'use' sb., rə'fi:z ME. *refūse* 'to refuse', brit ME. *brūt* 'brute', ti·n ME. *tune* 'humour', si:r 'sure', Deeside i·lɪ(lamp) 'oil(-lamp)'.

Note 1. The change *ō̤* > i: is confined to Ellis's area D 39; but the intermediate stage (ø:, y:), from which our i: developed through 'unrounding', may be heard[2]) throughout Scotland (Luick § 406; Grant § 149 ff.). Spellings like *rief* beside *ruif* 'roof', *sein* 'soon' (P. Müller p. 62) testify the

[1]) Meaning Northumbrian of the ME. period 14th—16th c., not the literary language of Middle Scots; cf. G. Smith, Specimens of MSc. XI.

[2]) The y reminded me of the sound heard in the mountainous parts of Switzerland: the Valais, the canton and name of Uri. The lips are neither protruded nor spread.

change *ūi* > i: for the 16th c. Sander (p. v) mentions rimes *-oo- : -ee-* for the 15th c. [1]).

Note 2. After k, g a labial glide **(w)** remained: skwi·l OE. *scól* 'school', kwi·l OE. *cólian* 'to cool', gwi·l 'yellow', gwi·d OE. *ʒód* 'good, God', [2]) kwi·d cf. Jamieson *coodie* 'small tub', kwit MDu. *kōte* 'ankle', but ki·rɪəs ME. *cūrious* 'curious'.

Note 3. Cases like di·n, gi·m, bli·d, bri·dɪr show the normal development, while StE. ʌ in *done, gum, blood, brother* implies shortening of *(ō >) ūi > ŭ.*

§ 19. 2. From earlier *ę̄* (< OE. *æ*[2] [Angl. *é*], *é, éo, íe*).[3]) fli: OE. *fléon, fléoʒan* 'flee, fly', li: OE. *léoʒan* 'to lie', dri: OE. *dréoʒan* 'endure', gri: ME. *grę̄* 'agree', swi:r OE. *swǽr* 'loath to do s.th', bri:r OE. *brǽr* 'briar(bush)', bri:rz Angl. *bré(w)* 'eye-brows', i:rɪn OE. *ǽrende* 'errand', hi·ld OE. *héold* 'held', di·l OE. *déofol* 'devil', on'di·mɪs cf. ON. *ú-dǽmi 'undeemous,* unexampled', ʃi·n cf. OE. *scéne* 'to shine' (§ 22); fri·n OE. *fréond* 'relation', pri·n OE. *préon* 'pin', i:(v)n OE. *ǽfen* 'eve(ning)', gri:v OE. *ʒeréfa* 'grieve, overseer', bli:z OE. *blǽsan* 'to blaze', θri·d OE. *þrǽd* 'thread', dri·d OE. *on-dréda* 'to dread', bri·st OE. *bréost* 'breast', ni·st, ni·pər (§ 121 b), bi·ʃt OE. *béost* (Swiss) G. *Biest* 'beest', hiç

---

[1]) The StSc. spelling of this typical Northumbrian *ii* is *ui* or *u-*, e.g. G. Douglas: *buik* 'book', *stuid* 'stood', Lyndsay: *guse* 'goose', *of blude* 'of blood'; *sune* 'soon', *umast* our i·mɪst. This unmistakable correspondence helps to corroborate etymologies which might otherwise be doubtful: wi:v (§ 151), i·mɪst (§ 148). EDD. is wrong in registering our kwi·l as *kweel* sub *keel* < OE. *célan* 'to make cool' because, apart from the intr. function and the w, which would remain unexplained, the non-Buchan form is *cule, cuil* (Wilson, Lowland Sc.).

[2]) gwi·d for *God* must have arisen in stock-phrases, cf. § 185.

[3]) The same sound change having taken place in StE., only such words are recorded above, as are either different or else unknown in StE. speech. *Street, sheep, sleep, feet, greed, read, speed, heed, feed, bleed, needle, thief, teeth, geese, freeze, cheese, sleeve, keen, queen, wheel, meal* 'repast', *heel, feel, fear, steer, deer, dear, weary, bee, fee, be, he, we, ye* etc. have the same vowel in Buchan if we allow for the stopping.

ME. *hęh* 'high', driç[1]) ME. *drę̄ʒ* ON. *drjúg-r* '*dreigh*, tedious', wit OE. *wǽt* 'wet', ʃit OE. *scéotan* 'shoot', lit OE. *lét* 'let' pt., grit OE. *ʒrǽtan* 'to weep', flitɪnz cf. OE. *flíete* f. 'the skum on boiled whey', bitl̩ OE. *bíetel* 'wooden mallet', briks OE. *bréc* 'breeches', sik OE. *sécean* 'to seek', rik OE. *réc* 'reek', nip OE. *nǽp* 'turnip'.[2])

From OE. *ĕ* + *ld* > ME. *ęld:* i·l OE. *ʒielde* (<**galdia*) 'barren, off the milk', fi:dl̩ OE. *feld* 'field'.

From OE. *-éow-*: ni·(brɪ) *Newburgh* OE. *néowe* 'new', i: OE. *éow* (or *ʒé*?) 'you', i:r (Grant § 107) OE. *éower* 'your', bri: OE. **bréow*, variant of *bríw* (OED.) '*bree*, broth'.

Note 1. Again our forms represent the normal development, while StE. ɛ as in *friend, dread, held* etc. implies shortening at the *ę̄* stage (cf. Buchan ʃepɪrd 'shepherd' § 36 c). StE. ɪ of the following examples is too old to be due to shortening at the *ī* stage.[3])

sik	OE. *séoc*	G. *siech*	StE. sɪk[4]) 'sick'
wik	OE. *wéoce*	G. *Wieche*	StE. wɪk 'wick'
drip	OE. *dréopan*	G. *triefen*	StE. drɪp 'drip'

Note 2. The alternative form e: (cf. § 20) is found before r : he:ər OE. *hǽr* 'hair', ðe:ər OE. *þǽr* 'there', fe·rle OE. *fǽrlice* G. *(ge-)fährlich* 'verily', he·rɛn OE. *hǽrinʒ* 'herring', but regularly hi:rɪn at Macduff (not Gamrie, Crovie) and Banffshire generally.[5])

---

[1]) M.'s drïç (§ 48 c), in our script drɪç, is non-existent.

[2]) The etymology suggested for the obscure θits 'traces of the harness', viz. ON. *þétt-r* 'tight' (OED.) is doubtful, since Wilson for Fife and Perth registers *thait* (θe·t).

[3]) Suggested solutions: Jesp. I 3. 115; Jordan § 84 Anm. 3; Luick § 282; OED. sub *drip*.

[4]) Wright's record (EDGr. § 196) of *sick* is misleading; the Buchan form, in spite of the short *i* (being i = stopped i:) should not be put on a level with the form for Kent, which has ɪ (Ellis p. 140).

[5]) These words are equally exceptional in StE., viz. hɛə (Luick, Anglia XIV) and ðɛə; cf. Jordan § 49 Anm. 2. StE. hɛrɪŋ, like ɛrənd 'errand', is generally considered to be due to shortening in the trisyllabic forms, e.g. *heringes* (Jordan § 24).

§ 20. 3. From earlier ę̄ (< OE. *éa, ĕ-, æ*[1] = *á* modified).[1])

i: OE. *éaʒe* 'eye', di: ME. *dęʒen* 'die', mi:r OE. *mere* 'mare', similarly pi:r 'pear', bi:r 'barley', wi:r 'to wear', swi:r 'to swear', bi:r 'to bear', ti:r 'to tear'; wi·l OE. *wela* 'well', ri:m OE. *réam* 'cream', kni:vlɪk (§ 132 d, p. 144), di:v OE. *déafian 'to deave,* stupify with noise', ti:z OE. *tǣsan* MHG. *zeisen* 'to pick wool', skri·dz OE. *scréade* '(shreds), long pieces (of poetry)', bri·d OE. *bréad* 'bread', similarly di·d 'dead', li·d 'plumbum', ri·d 'red', bri·d (now bri·θ) OE. *brǽdu* 'breadth', hi·d OE. *héafod* 'head', (ni·pər)hi·d ME. *-hęd* < OE. **hǽdu* '(neighbour)hood', di·f OE. *déaf* 'deaf', θrip OE. *þréapian* 'to insist', θrit OE. *þréat* 'threat', gits (cf. ON. *geta, to get*) 'children'. In disyllables: fli·mɪn *Fleming*, bi·zɪm OE. *besema* 'besom', hifɪr OE. *heahfre* 'heifer'.

Note 1. The alternative form e:, i.e. the intermediate stage in the change ę̄ > ē > i: is found quite frequently:

(le·t ən) e:ər OE. *ǽr* '(late and) early', ste·m OE. *stéam* 'steam', ʃe·f OE. *scéaf* 'sheaf', sne·d OE. *snǽd* 'shaft of a scythe', tʃe·p OE. *céap* sb. 'cheap', gre·t OE. *ʒréat* 'great', e·t OE. *etan* 'eat', me·t OE. *mete* 'meat, food'[2]) fre·t ON. *frétt?* OED. *freite, freet* 'superstition'.

The e: in all these words is original and firmly established throughout Buchan, and it is only among 'cultured' people that (StE.) i: is heard.

In StE. itself there are words that did not run the full course (e.g. *swear, bear, tear* etc.) or that were shortened at the *ē*-stage; cf. the words above that have ɛ in StE.

The influence of these StE. ɛ, ɛə can easily be seen with young speakers, who say be·ər 'bear', te·ər 'tear'. StE. deθ has now superseded the genuine di·d OE. *déaþ* 'death', which survives in locutions like ˈjɪl bi· ðə ˈdi·d ə mɪ 'ye'll

---

[1]) The majority of examples have the same vowel as in StE.; thus: *ear, gear, shear, deal, meal* (=flour), *steal, bean, mean* adj., vb., *clean, lean, beam, dream, seam, team, scream, leave, leaf, sheath, east, least, lead* vb., *speak, heat,* sb., vb., *seat, beat* (Deeside be·t), *peat, heap* etc.

[2]) ə(n) e·tme·t 'one who is idle and lives on others'.

be the death of me' or ɪ ðə di·d θrɑ: 'in the death throes'. The verb spred OE. *sprǽdan* G. *spreiten* may be similarly accounted for, since spri·d ðə bri·d 'to spread the bread' is still extant on Deeside and among the fishing people of Peterhead.[1])

Note 2. Buchan is not the only area with e:. In Moray, Perth and Fife the e: is far more regular; there it is also le·f for *leaf* etc. (cf. Wilson).[2]) The fact that in Buchan we have *cheap, steam* with e: but *heap, dream* with i:, suggests that the present conditions are not original. The double form and meaning of OE. *hębban* ME. *hęven*, viz. he:v 'to heave, lift' and hi:v 'to breathe heavily' points to the same. Some districts may have gone all the way to i:, others may have stopped at e:, and afterwards they mixed. M. § 110 attributes the i:-forms to the coastal districts; Gregor (cf. Introduction), before him, made the same statement for Banff and Elgin. However this may be west of Deveron, and however it may have been east of it, my records for the North-East do not corroborate this. With the exception of ʃi·tlən for inland ʃetlən „*Shetland*[3]) all our e:-words are the current forms at Gamrie and Peterhead.

Note 3. The semantic differentiation of he:v and hi:v and the syntactical difference between he·l OE. *hǽlan* 'to heal' and the noun hi·l OE. *hǽlu* 'health' (cf. lɑŋ ləif ən ʌl hi·l 'long life and bad health') look as if the i:/e: duplicity had been endowed with a function.

Note 4. The wk. verbs θik OE. *þeccean*, G. *decken* 'to thatch', strik OE. *streccean*, G. *strecken* 'to stretch', klik ME. *clęken*, OE. **cleccean* 'to hook' evolved their i: from inflected forms with single *c*, e.g. *þeces, þece* where conditions were the same as with the str. vb. stik OE. **stecan* 'to close.

---

[1]) We might have thought of the transfer in Scots of short *e* of the pt. (§ 36 c) to the present, as in early Mod. E. *sheed—shed* 'to shed' (§ 166).

[2]) It is a shibboleth of Irish-English to have e: for any ME. *ę̄*.

[3]) Gamrie sti·mbot (by the side of ste·m) is an obvious intruder from the sea.

θik is now practically ousted by θɑk, the form of the noun; strik is confined to the expression stri·kɪn ə di·d bodɪ 'to lay out a corpse'.

Note 5. An unexplained i: is found in itʃ OE. *adesa* 'adze' (Peterhead e·tʃ) and əidḷsit for Deeside and Scotch *idle-set* 'the state of being idle'.

§ 21. 4. From earlier *ę̄* (< OE. *ĭ*, *y* in open syllables).

a) gi: ME. *ʒę̄ve(n)* ON. *gifa* 'give', ʃi:v (§ 22), dri:v OE. *drifon* pt. pl. 'drove' (cf. § 151), gri·n ME. *grę̄ne(n)* (< *grina*, metathetic form of ON. *girna;* cf. OED.) 'to yearn', kwi·d OE. *cwidu* 'cud', strik (ə rik) OE. *strica* 'curl of smoke', stik OE. *stice* 'a stitch', kik Swed. *kika* 'to glance'.

b) spi:r OE. *spyrian* Northern ME. *spiren* (Jordan § 190 Anm. 1) '*speer*, ask', sti:r OE. *styrian* 'stir', fi:r OE. *fyrian* <**furhjan* 'to mark off with a furrow the breadth of a ridge', birɪ, birɪəl OE. *byrʒean, byrʒels* 'to bury, burial'; ski·l ON. *skil* 'skill', swi·l OE. *swilian* 'swill', dri·l 'drill', spi·l OE. *spilian* 'to climb' (cf. OED. *speeler* 'an acrobat'). On swi·m OE. *swimman* ME. *swimen, swę̄me(n)* 'to swim', ki·ŋ OE. *cyninʒ* 'king', pi·ni 'pinafore' see Note 3.

c) i·vḷ OE. *yfil* 'evil', swi·vḷ 'swivel', sni·vḷ cf. OE. *snyflunʒ* 'snivel', wi·dɪ OE. *widewe* 'widow'.

d) French words like piti 'pity', siti 'city', mi·nɪt 'minute', spi·rɪt 'spirit', si·vḷ 'civil', vi·zɪt 'visit'; cf. Luick § 422 Anm. 2.

Note 1. This sound change led from *(y) i* > *ḭ* > *ę̄*, which shared the development of *ę̄* recorded in § 19. It occurred in its first phase in the 13th c. and is typical of the North (Luick § 393 ff.; Jordan p. 58). This accounts for the comparatively large number of examples in Buchan (StE. has some six only; cf. Jesp. I 4. 214). And yet not every *ĭ-* is now represented by i:, e.g. lɪtḷ 'little', mʌkḷ 'much', drɪvn̩ and all the pp.'s of cl. I (§ 151). The reason for the irregularity of the change lies in the fact that in the uninflected

forms of monosyllables and in the inflected forms of disyllables the conditions for lengthening were wanting, e.g. *ʒĭf* 'give!', *wēdow* but *wĭdowes*.

Note 2. The i: is not genuine in wik 'week' and xʌip 'whip', which are now taking the place of uk (§ 50) and fʌp (§ 63). Where do the new forms come from? In the first case it is immaterial (EDD. records *uk* for the North-East only; Wilson has *week*), in the second it comes most probably from StE. (Wilson has *hwup*).[1])

Note 3. A similar i (for ɪ, ɨ) might be suspected in three words of b), viz. swi·m (older sum < swum), ki·ŋ (?), pi·ni (a recent creation, even in StE.), and perhaps in pi·n (§ 22), Banffshire wi·n 'the wind'.

§ 22. 5. Corresponding apparently to ME. *ī* < OE. *í, ý*.

This equation most flagrantly violates our law of diphthongization (*ī* > əi, ɑ·e § 66), unless we assume (cf. Sarrazin ESt. 26, 229) that the change has, also in our dialect, been carried through with some extraordinary exceptions, just as the parallel change of *ū* > ʌu has not taken effect at all. Luick (ESt. 27, 90), however, alleges the diphthongization of *ī* to be general (cf. Luick § 482). In trying to reconcile this statement with the modern state of Buchan, we must either look for new bases or else have recourse to "mixture of dialects", as M. has done (§ 102) with his remark on wi:r, tʃi·l "introduced from a Southern dialect". But first of all the idea of an alien form with household words, as ours are, does not commend itself. Secondly this assumption implies that the diphthongization did not progress simultaneously South and North. That is no doubt true, but to have the retarding effect needed, the South cannot have been

[1]) If so, why was i: substituted for ɨ? Is it that ɪ of StE. ʌɪp, wɪp suggested to Buchan ears i rather than ɨ, ɛ, since ɪ ordinarily does not occur in such neighbourhood (§ 56)? This would imply oral borrowing and exclude the influence of the spelling. Neither Ellis nor EDGr. mention the word. EDD. marks "*wheep* Sc. (Jamieson)", which I was unable to verify.

ahead of the North as Luick (l. c. Anm. 3) contends. On the other hand there is one fact that rather points to "mixture of dialects" promising better results than the establishing of new bases, viz. the existence here and there of the diphthongized form. Here follows a list and appreciation of the words in question:

ʃiːn : OE. *scínan* 'to shine'. Wilson's ʃəin for Perth answers to this etymology, but our ʃiːn — a common Scots and literary form (since 1375, OED.) — is from the adj. *sheen* G. *schön* 'bright' (§ 19) and, as a verb, weak. Wright's ʃiːn (EDGr. § 155) for w. Forfar probably stands for *sheen* not *shine*.

ʃiːv : common Teut. (though unrecorded for OE.) *skíva* G. *Scheibe* 'slice' = Penrith ʃaiv, OED. *shive*. The wk. grade base OE. **scĭfe* (assumed by OED. sub *sheave*) explains our and Deeside ʃiːv (§ 21) and Jamieson's *sheeve;* but what of Lothian ʃeːv and EDD., Jamieson's *shave?* and finally Wilson's ʃeːf 'slice, sheaf' for Fife and Perth?

iːmɪst : OE. *ýmest* Goth. *aúhmists* (Sievers § 222. 2) 'uppermost' has been adopted by Grant (p. 111) and EDD. Our etymology (§§ 18, 148) avoids it.

wiːr : OE. *wír* 'wire'. Note Wilson's regular wəir for Perth and Ellis's *wéir* (= wəir, which I never heard) beside *weer*. The only base available[1]) to suit our wiːr is OE. **wé²r*, an ablautform of *wír* (viz. Idg. *ēi* for *ei*, cf. Streitberg, Urgerm. Gr. § 79) and corresponding to G. *wiara, wiere*. This supposition has the support of the former spellings *weyr, weir, were* (OED.), which fully agree with those of hiːr 'here' OE. *hér* G. *hier*. Another pair illustrative of this ablaut is OHG. *zēri, ziari* adj., G. *Zier*, ON. *tírr*, OE. *tír* (Sievers § 58).[2])

vrit : OE. *wrítan* 'write'; regularly represented by Ellis's *vréit* (by the side of *vreetin*) and Wilson's rəit for C. Scotland

---

[1]) Wyld § 267 Note easily disposes of the West Country *-beere* (for *byre*) in place-names by assuming lowering of $\bar{\imath} > \bar{e}$ in Late ME.

[2]) The English adj. doublets *shire — sheer* represent a different ablaut-pair (Idg. $^{ei}/_{oi}$); *shire* is from OE. *scír* while *sheer* is from ON. *skærr* < **skairja-*.

and Perth. M. (§ 100) explains the i as arising from *ĭ-* of OE. *writen* pp. (§ 21). There is no denying ME. *wrēten* pp. (cf. OED.; Wyld § 358), but apart from the fact that *vritn is never heard in modern Buchan, we find it improbable for a str. vb. to form its inf. after the pp. or pt. pl. Vowel conformity of inf. and pp. is not known except on the ɪ, ɑ and ʌu bases (§ 157 ff.). Is it due to the passage of the vb. from cl. I to cl. IV B (Ritter, ESt. 46, 35)? This theory, however, leaves pt. *vrat* and the noun ha·n o vrit 'hand writing' unaccounted for.

ri:v(ɪr o ə fəiᵘr) : ME. *rīven* 'to tear'. In spite of the Peterhead rɑ·ev(ɪr o ə fəiᵘr) 'a roaring fire' our word seems to be nothing more than *reaver, raider.* EDD. quotes *reeve* vb. for Banff (e.g. *the fire wiz reevin' up the lum*) 'to burn with a strong, bright flame'; cf. Morayshire: ro·vɪr o ə fəiᵘr. Wilson, Perth: *reevin* 'high (of wind)'.

bi·l : OE. *býl* < **būljō* MHG. *biule* StE. *boil* 'to fester'. Judging by the diverse ME. spellings (cf. OED. sub *beal*) this word, at an early period, must have started on various alternative courses of development. The form be·l for Moray, Upper Deeside and (cf. Wilson's *bail*) for Perth and Fife points to our i· < ę̄ (§ 20). This renders the connection with OE. *býl* StE. *boil* very doubtful. If we further consider that bi·l is only a verb and the noun is bi·lɪn 'festering', these doubts increase. Do semantics allow connection with ON. *bœla* (OE. **bœlan* from *bœl*), ME. (Pearl 18) *bele* 'to burn'?

tʃi·l : OE. *cīld* < *cĭld* '(child), *chiel,* young man'.
pi·n : OE. *pȳndan* < *pyndan* *'to poind,* distrain'.
wi·rd : OE. *wȳrd* < *wyrd* 'weird'.

The expected form *tʃəil (cf. wəil 'wild') does not exist anywhere in Scotland, but the re-shortened tʃɪl does (§§ 57, 130). Is tʃi·l on analogy with § 21 b?[1])

[1]) Our tʃi·l stands on a level with Windhill bi·ld 'build' (Wright § 119). Note also that EDGr. registers the verb *build,* which is really an alien in Aberdeen and Buchan, as bi·ld.

The expected *pəin (cf. məin 'mind' § 66 Note 3) is unknown,[1]) but the re-shortened pɪnd (cf. fɪn 'find') and the retracted *pʌn (§ 57) occur. The former is heard as a literary form (hence -d) in legal circles and law courts, the latter in the noun 'pʌnlər *'pundlar,* distrainer'; it is also implied in the spelling *pund,* regularly found for *poind* in the Aberdeen Sheriff Court Records about 1500. And what of pi·n? A first solution (pɪn > pi·n) has been offered § 21 Note 3. Another we might expect to be suggested by the conventional spelling *poind,* which leads back to *pŭn(d)* (cf. BBr. *doyne, soyne* for our di·n, si·n § 18). But where should this *ŭ* come from?[2])

wi·rd, which is now StE. too, is explained by Luick § 396 by a svarabhakti form *wirid* > *wẹ̄rd* (§ 21) > wi·rd.

§ 23. 6. From earlier *ā* + *n,* i.e. for e: of § 27.

i·n OE. *án* 'one', ni·n 'none', ə'li·n 'alone', sti·n 'stone', bi·n 'bone', gi·n ME. *gān* 'gone', ti·n ME. *tān* 'taken', hi·n pp. 'had'; mi·n OE. **mán* 'moan' sb. as in gwi·d ət mɑkɛn mi·n for jɪr'sel 'good at complaining'.

This change (*ā* >) e: > i: has its geographical and phonetic limitations; cf. Grant § 143: "In Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen[3]) and on the Banffshire coast, this e becomes i before n." Note, however, gre·n of Auchterless and JG. *(grane)* OE. *ʒránian* 'to groan' (§ 48a).

Note 1. The mi·n above is doubtful because of *mene* (i·), marked by Jamieson as common Scotch. This must be after the vb., OE. *mǽnan* < **mān-jan.* For the same reason our law is not to be extended to fi·m (ə hit) 'rage, passion'

[1]) EDD. registers pamd, but without locating it.

[2]) Murray (OED. sub *poind*) assumes *oi* to symbolize *ü* OE. *y,* hence *poind* = OE. *pyndan.* But first *oi (ui)* stands for length, and it is doubtful whether the long quantity of *y* survived, secondly OE. *y, ȳ* in Scotland (and the North generally) became unrounded *i, ī* (Luick § 287). Murray's reference to *build* Sc. *büld* does not seem to hold, StE. *build* standing for *bŭld,* the regular West Midland form (cf. Jordan § 42).

[3]) On Upper Deeside all these words except mi·n have e·, but i· is encroaching among the younger generation.

OE. *fám* 'foam', since the i: is probably taken over from the vb. (OE. *fǽman*), although this has now o· after StE., e.g. fo·mɛn ət ðə mu: 'foaming at the mouth'. At one time it was fi·m for verb and noun (cf. quotations in EDD.).[1])

Note 2. An isolated example of i: (< e: < lengthened ME. *a*-) instead of e·ɛ (§ 30a) is pi·n (ə gles) ME. *pane* 'window pane'. This fact is all the more interesting because the word appears to be a comparatively recent import from StE. (Moray, Upper Deeside, Perth have pe·n); old folk usually said lo·zn̩ (§ 47.1).

§ 24. 7. From diverse French and other sources.

hɪ 'dʒi·lt hɪm'sel cf. Fr. *geler* 'he is stiff with cold', kri·l OFr. *creil* 'creel', tʃi:r ME. *chaire* 'chair', si·ləns 'silence', li·ʃɪns 'licence', titl̩ 'title', di:mɪ dim. of *dame*, kəm'pli·n 'complain', tʃi·nə *China*, tʃi·ndʒ 'change', ə'bli:dʒ 'oblige', ɪn'vit 'invite', ri·st '(ar)rest', dʒi·sts OFr. *giste* 'joists', di·s Fr. *deys*, *dois* 'deece, settee'.

§ 25. 8. From echoic origin.

wik, ˌpik 'to speak in a thin, piping voice', tʃip 'a shrill squeaking of birds', pip, tit (titɪn ru·n = to peep stealthily round) 'to peep', ri·ʃl̩ 'loud clatter'.

§ 26. Concluding Note: Many are the tributaries to our i: i· i sound; no wonder, therefore, its numbers are swelled. It is the most prevalent vowel of our dialect. This frequently recurring i, together with the clean u and the tense, pointed e, causes the neat and sharp acoustic impression of Buchan speech. Add to this the uniformity of long vowels (§ 4), the scarcity of diphthongs (§ 1), and the clear, straightforward character of the dialect is sufficiently accounted for.

It is not possible for so many vowels to converge in i without creating a large number of homonyms.

---

[1]) OE. *fám*—*fǽman* 'foam', 'to foam' should be Scots *faim* (§ 27)—*feam* (§ 20). Deeside (old generation) has fe·m for sb., vb. (the latter after § 32?). Wilson (C. Scotland) fe·m sb.; Jamieson "*to feam*, to be in a violent rage, to foam with rage"; EDD. *feam* (i·) for North of Scotland.

gis sg. and pl.; **tiθ** sg. and pl.; **bli·d** sb. and vb.; **bi·n** = *been, bean, bone;* **sti·l** = *steal, steel, stool, finger stall;* **ri·d** *to read, red;* **wi:r** *to wear, wire;* **swi:r** *to swear, reluctant* (adj.); **mi·n** *moon, to mean, mean* (adj.), *moan;* **mi:r** *mare, moor, mere;* **sti:r** *steer, to stir, to steer.*

A rather fantastic story, associated with the name of a well-known Scottish judge of a former generation, is told of an Aberdeen woman who made a verbal will bequeathing her money to *"the peer o' Aiberdeen"*. A legal decision was wanted as to what she had meant. The possible claimants were (I) the town authorities for the relief of the poor, (II) the Earl of Aberdeen, (III) Aberdeen Harbour authorities, then constructing a pier. It was wittily suggested that there was a fourth possibility, that she meant the money to be spent in encouraging the cultivation of a new kind of pear-tree to be called the *"peer o' Aiberdeen"*. The four words, *poor, peer, pier, pear,* are all pronounced alike.

This state of things has, however, changed of recent years. In certain words the typical i: sound has disappeared, but hardly, as one might think, owing to the coalescence of forms and the consequent ambiguity.

Ellis has **bli·m** where I never heard anything else but **blu·m,**[1]) *the bloom o' the breem.* Whilst **wəivɪn** *weaving* was a flourishing home-industry at Byth, practically every home had a **li·m**. Now people in Buchan would rather speak of **lu·mz**, at least outside Byth; with the object the local pronunciation disappeared. For **ti·l, pri·f** the StE. forms *tool* and *proof* are gradually being substituted. Similarly **səiləns** and **təitl̩** are taking the place of the earlier **si·ləns** and **ti·tl̩**. Naturally the invading StE. pronunciation has most chance of making headway with comparatively rare words, whose vowel, moreover, is felt to be peculiar to a small area. **ðə mi·n** *the moon,* **ma bits** *my boots,* **ðə fli:r** *the floor* and other household words will be slow in giving way. The same result may be noticed in the strife between native **e:** and 'StE.' **o:** (§ 27 Note 2).

[1]) The 'native' word for 'bloom' is **ðə flurɪʃ (o ðə epl'tri:, o ðə ta·tez).**

e: e· e

§ 27. 1. From earlier $\bar{a} <$ OE., ON. *á*, Gael. *à*.

e: OE. *án* 'one', ge: 'go', je: ON. *já*, in je·je· 'indeed', we: 'woe', bre: ON. *brá 'brae'*, ble: ON. *blá-r 'blae'*, fe: ON. *frá* 'from', ge: ON. *gáfu* pt. 'gave', stre: ON. *strá* 'straw', te: 'toe', he·l OE. *hál* 'whole', ke·l ON. *kál 'cail'*, se·l OE. *sál* 'rope', fe·l Gael. *fàl* (OED.) 'sod', be·l-t (cf. OED.) 'bald', se:ᵊr OE. *sár* 'sore', me:ᵊr 'more', *he:ᵊr OE. *hár* 'hoar', in 'here'muldɪt § 77, le:ᵊr 'lore', he·rs OE. *hás* 'hoarse', he·m OE. *hám* 'home', ke·m ME. *cāmb* 'comb', le:v OE. *láf* 'remainder', be:ð ON. *báð-ir* 'both', kle:z 'clothes', le:ð 'loath', e·θ 'oath', le·ç ON. *lág-r* 'low', e·çt more generally eçt (ME. *ăhte* according to § 36a?) OE. *áhte* 'to own' § 171, me·st ONhb. *mást* 'most', le·d OE. *lád* 'a load', bre·d 'broad', ʃe·d OE. *sceád* 'parting of the hair', te·d 'toad', he·t (§ 36) OE. *hát* 'hot', ble·t OE. *blát* 'bashful', gre·p OE. *ʒráp* 'dung fork' and the pt.'s of cl. I § 151.[1])

From ON. *ei* (= OE. *á*) : le:ᵊr cf. ON. *leir* 'to sink in mire', le:ᵊk[2]) ON. *leik-r* OE. *lác* 'a marble played'.

Note 1. This change is Northumbrian generally (Jordan § 44) and corresponds to Southern $\acute{a} > \bar{o} > \bar{o} >$ StE. ou (ɔə before *r*). The Scottish spelling is *ae* final, *ai* medial, e.g. *brae, braid* (*i* serving the same purpose as mute *-e* in StE.; cf. Scots *gait*—StE. *gate*).

Note 2. Not every OE. *á* (< *ai*) is now represented by e:. Before *n* it is raised to i· (§ 23); in many other cases it is o:, after StE. The spreading of English o: is not recent: in some words e: has been dead for generations, in others it can be remembered, in others again it is now being encroached upon (cf. Luick § 369 Anm. 6; Angl. 16, 372 ff.).

---

[1]) Of uncertain etymology: ge·k 'gape', gle·ket 'foolish', tə bi· he·ket 'to be pressed, urged'.

[2]) Obsolescent. The unexpected e:ə may be due to conceiving it as *lay* + *ock*.

go·t 'goat', **bo·t** 'boat',[1]) **dro:v** 'drove of cattle', **ro:ɛr** 'roar', **bo:ər** 'boar', **o:ɛr** 'oar' (Ellis for fishing villages **e:**), **rod** 'road' (Ellis **o, e**), **lo·f** 'loaf' (Ellis **o:, e:**), **o·k** 'oak' (EDGr. § 123 **o:, e:**; M. **e:**),[2]) **go·st** (and **ge·st**) 'ghost', **o·θ** 'oath' but **ə′po mə e·θ** 'upon my oath', **lo·m** 'loam' but **lemez** (Peterhead also sg. **le·m**) 'broken bits of earthen crockery that children play with', **so·p** 'soap', rather than **se·p**;[3]) **e·t** 'oats' survives in **′e·t′bri·d** 'oat-bread', **′e·t′si·d** 'oat-seeds', but Buchan farmers now grow **o·ts** and begin calling their *breid* **o·tke·ks**; ropes are called **re·ps** if home-made of **stre:**, but **hɪmpɱ ro·ps** 'hemp-ropes' if bought; for **fo·m, (e·)** 'foam' cf. § 23; **jo·m** 'vapour'.[4])

§ 28. 2. From earlier $\bar{a} <$ OE. *a* in open syllables (cf. § 36).

he: ME. *haven* OE. *habban* 'have', **′he:vles** OE. *hafenléas* 'incompetent, reckless', **ge·l** ON. *gafl* 'gable', **me:ð** OE. *maða* MHG. *made* 'maggot', **re·ðɪr** OE. *hraðor* 'rather', **re·d** cf. OE. *hræd-es* (OED. *rad*) 'too ready, officious', **he·mz** MDu. *hame* 'horse's collar', **spe·l** MHG. *spale* 'splinter', ***we·l** cf. **wəil** § 69. 2 'choose', **kle·k** ON. *klaka* 'gossip, clatter'.

The big bulk of examples correspond to StE., where the sound change has led from $a > \bar{a} > \bar{\text{æ}} >$ **eɪ** (**ɛə** before *r*): **he:ər** 'hare', **se·l** 'sale', **pe·lɛn** 'paling', **me·ɛn** 'mane' (§ 30a), **ge·m** 'game', **ne:v (o ðə ke·rt)** 'nave', **ske·θ** 'scathe', **me·d** 'made', **he:z̩** OE. *hæsel* 'hazel', so also *ladle, cradle.*[5])

---

[1]) Gamrie: **bot**; but BBr. **be·t**, e.g. III 408 *bait,* III 417 *a litill bate.*

[2]) The Rev. John Pratt in his 'Guide through Buchan' (1857) p. 9 tells of a hill (in the parish of New Deer) *Aiky* **(eke)** or *Yakie Brae* (**j-eke** § 106), whose northern declivity was once wooded (with oak?). A fair held there is still commonly known as **(j)eke fe:ᵊr.** At Peterhead, I am informed, **e·k** may still be heard for *oak.*

[3]) Banff and Deeside: **se·p** rather than **so·p.**

[4]) Also **jo·m ə rik** 'vapour of smoke', **jo·mɛn** 'blowing with smoke'; Auchterless: to be in a **jo·m** 'feverish heat'; Peterhead: **jo·m** 'warm disagreeable smell, smell of smoke'. This word is probably not from OE. **ám* ON. *eim-r* 'steam', but a borrow from a Scand. variant with *â,* Norw. *aama,* Swed. *åma.* For **j-** cf. § 106.

[5]) Similarly: *bare, pare, care; ale, bale o'strae, stale, tale; frame, lame*

Divergent vowels according to the double position of the vowel in the OE. paradigm are found in:

se·dl̩ < OE. nom. *sadol* — gen. *sædles* > StE. sædl̩ 'saddle'.
gle·d < OE. gen. *ʒlades* — nom. *ʒlæd* > StE. glæd 'glad'.
gref[1]) < OE. nom. *ʒræf* — gen. *ʒraves* > StE. greɪv 'grave'.

Similarly: re·vl̩ ME. *ravelen* 'to ravel, gre·vl̩ 'gravel', tre·vl̩ 'travel', he·mər OE. *hamor* 'hammer', ske·ml̩z OE. *scamel* 'shambles'; Deeside dre:gɪn (§ 36).

§ 29. 3. From earlier *ai* (< OE. *-eʒ, -æʒ, -ǽʒ*) final.

de: OE. *dæʒ* 'day', me: 'may', le: 'lay' pt., inf.; gre OE. *ʒrǽʒ* 'gray', kle: 'clay', se: ME. Anglian *seyen* OE. *secʒean* 'to say', bre: ME. *breien* 'to press'.

kwe·k 'young cow' appears to be contracted of *quey-ock* (cf. § 145). In a few cases (M. § 156 wrongly includes the above) this e: has been further changed into ɑ·e, əi; cf. § 68. 5 ff.

§ 30. 4. From earlier *ai* (< OE. *eʒ-, æʒ-, ǽʒ-*) + *n, l, r.*

a) *eʒn̩, æʒn* > e·ɛn.[2])

re·ɛn OE. *reʒn* 'rain', (tʃɪl)ble·ɛn OE. *bleʒen* 'blain', he·ɛn ON. *hegna* G. *hegen* 'to save', (bɪ) me·ɛn (fors) ON. *megin* 'main', fe·ɛn OE. *fæʒen* 'fain', bre·ɛn OE. *brægn* 'brain'.

By analogy this e·ɛ is heard in any word with e: + n (e.g. < *ā, a-* §§ 27, 28): e·ɛn OE. *ágen* 'own', ple·ɛn Lat. *plānus* 'a plane', me·ɛn OE. *manu* 'mane', ke·ɛn 'cane', ve·ɛn 'vein', tre·ɛn 'train', ge·ɛn 'gain', pe·ɛn 'pain', stre·ɛn(z leg) 'to sprain one's leg', be·ɛn Gael. *bàn* man's name *Bain;* me·ɛnz (ə kre·gstən) 'the home farm' pl. form aphetic for *domain, demesne lands* (OED.), pre·ɛn earlier spellings *prayne, prane* 'prawn' (Gaelic?).

---

name, same, shame, tame; shave, haze, bathe; blade, shade; gait, late, spate, bake, rake, brake, sake, snake etc.

[1]) The e is short (cf. § 36); hence M.'s assumption (§ 190) "consonant of the nom.-acc. sg., and the vowel of the oblique cases" is hardly right.

[2]) These are obvious disyllabic words, in fact there is no difference between, say, ple·ɛn 'plane' and the pres. p. of ple: 'play'.

Ellis quotes *sle'n, me'n, bre'n, re'n,* the accent denoting the break between the syllables; for *own,* however, he has *èn* monosyllabic, which is the current form on Deeside to-day, but unknown in Buchan.

b) *-eʒl, -œʒl* > e·ɛl.

ne·ɛl OE. *nœʒl* 'nail', te·ɛl OE. *tœʒl* 'tail', he·ɛl OE. *hœʒl* 'hail', sne·ɛl OE. *snœʒl* 'snail', fle·ɛl OE. **fleʒl* 'flail'. A group of French words with *-eil* in ME. underwent the same change: tre·ɛl Fr. *traille* 'trail', kwe·ɛl Fr. *quaille* 'quail', re·ɛl Fr. *raille* 'rail'; re·ɛl Fr. *réel* 'real'. This development is not carried through consistently: se·ɛl OE. *seʒl* 'sail' has also been heard se·l; fe·ɛl Fr. *faillir* at Byth sounded fe·l. *To bail (water)* and *the pail* — whichever its etymology — should be disyllabic but were always heard be·l, pe·l.

Analogy, it should be noted, does not affect e: + l of §§ 27, 28. We have the two distinct rows:

he·ɛl	te·ɛl	se·ɛl	ne·ɛl	sne·ɛl	fle·ɛl	etc.
he·l [1])	te·l	se·l	ke·l	ste·l	e·l	ge·l

Ellis has *ne'l, sne'l, he'l, te'l* and *tel,* but *seel.*

c) *-eʒr, -œʒr, -œ̈ʒr* > e:ᵊr.

fe:ᵊr OE. *fœʒer* 'fair', ste:ᵊr OE. *stœ̈ʒer* 'stair', le:ᵊr OE. *leʒer* 'lair'. The e: of §§ 27, 28 also has the glide: me:ᵊr.

Note: In StE. our ME. *ai* is represented by the value of ME. *ā* (Wyld § 268); in the dialects the two sounds are often kept distinct as is shown by the following table:

		tale	*tail*
Hackness (York)	(Cowling §§ 127, 166)	ti·əl	tɛ·əl
Windhill (York)	(Wright §§ 65, 70)	teəl	
S. Counties of Sc.	(Murray p. 105, 106)	ti·əl	tel
C. Scotland, N.-E.	(Curtis § 138, Murray p. 53)	tel	
Caithness	(Murray p. 238, Ellis p. 780)	te'il	tèèl

[1]) he·ɛlsti·nz 'hailstones' differs from he·lsti·nz 'whole stones'. Unfortunately the kymographic tracings do not show up the difference; the voice being continuous the break between the syllables does not come out.

On the evidence of rimes (e.g. in B.'s Bruce) and inverted spellings, Luick § 434. 1, Jordan § 132 state that in Scotland (except D 33 = South-East) in the 2nd half of the 14th c. the two sounds had coincided in *ā*, and that the modern dialects prove it with their common e (cf. above and Wilson for Perth, Fife). How do our e·ɛ, e:ə forms tally with these facts? Group a) and c) clearly represent a secondary development which affects any e: before *r, n.* Group b), on the other hand, seems to keep up the old difference of *ai* and *ā*, and Curtis's statement § 138, which otherwise holds for Buchan (cf. also me·d *made, maid*) needs restricting. Whether our forms te·l, te·ɛl are on a line with those quoted for Caithness[1]), and how far South our e:—e·ə distinction stretches, we have not been able to ascertain.

§ 31. 5. From earlier *ar* (< OE. *ear, eor*, Fr. *ar, er*, Gael. *ar*).

a) from original *ă*: e·rm OE. (northern) *arm* 'arm', he·rm 'harm', e·rn OE. *arnian* 'earn', be·rn OE. *barn* '*bairn*', fe·rn 'fern', e·rs 'podex', be·rd 'beard', je·rd OE. *ȝeard* 'garden',[2]) ke·rt ON. *kart-r* (OE. *crœt*?) 'cart'; e·rt Gael. *aird* 'direction', ke·rn, ke·rd Gael. *cairn, ceard* § 106; ge·rtɛn OFr. *gartier* 'garter', pe·rt 'part', ke·rts 'cards' (§ 132 i), ˈme·rtemәs 'Martinmass', me·rtʃ 'March', me·rtʃɛn OFr. *marchant* 'merchant', tʃe·rdʒ 'charge', le·rdʒ 'large', e·rme 'army', ke·rd 'to comb' § 106.

b) from original *ĕ*: le·rn OE. *leornian* 'learn', ste·rv 'starve', he·rθ OE. *heorð* 'hearth', he·rst 'harvest', je·rd OE. *ȝerd* G. *Gerte* 'yard', sme·rt 'smart', ste·rtʃ 'starch'; fe·rm 'farm', me·rvl̩ 'marvel', he·rs 'hearse', me·rse 'mercy', ˈpertrɛk 'partridge', se·rtɛn 'certain', se·rvɪn 'servant', se·rtʃ 'strain'; he·rd ME. *hĕrde* 'heard' § 169.

c) in open syllables: fereər Fr. *ferrier* 'farrier', here (ə nest) OE. *herȝian* 'to harry', mere 'marry', kere 'carry', nere 'narrow'.

---

[1]) Murray adds: "a very different distinction from that used in the south". Ellis p. 786: "of which I could get no confirmation".

[2]) This seems to be the genuine word rather than ge·rdɪn.

Note 1. With the exception of the disyllables under c) we have symbolized the vowel as half-long, despite shortening tendencies with some words. There is, however, one word with an obviously short e, viz. hert OE. *heorte* 'heart' and its adj. herte (cf. the spellings in AF. *hert* but *yaird*, Wilson *hert* for Fife, Perth but *hairt* for Lothian).

Note 2. The original vowel of our words was *ă* or *ĕ*.[1]) In the 14th c. *e* was levelled under *a* (Luick § 430). The further development is still disputed. As our e· has doubtless been long at one time, *ā* (Jordan § 59 b, Curtis § 302 ff.) may have been the next stage. The short *e* of hert (Wilson has many more with *ĕ*, e.g. *ferm, herm, herst* etc.) would be the product of shortening at the *ē* stage. A more serious difficulty is presented by a number of words having ɑ (§ 46), ɑ: (§ 41); did they pass through *ā* too? M. § 78 assumes a treble course, starting from *ær*: the straight course > e:, shortening at *æ* (leading to ɑ) and shortening at *ē* (leading to e); cf. our he·rd—hɑrd 'heard' § 169. See also § 46.

§ 32. 6. From earlier *ę̄*, which normally becomes i: (§ 20). For examples and explanation see § 20 Note 1, 2. In Moray, Perth and Fife this e: appears to be the rule.

§ 33. 7. From various French sources.

strə've:g 'roam about', ste·nʃ 'staunch, busy', ske·m 'scheme', tʃe·t 'cheat', kwe·ət 'quiet', e:ər cf. ME. *eir* 'to inherit', kle:ər 'clear', rə'kwe:ər 'require', 'se·reəs 'serious', le·vɪr 'lever'.

Also with e are heard: ne·tɛr 'nature', kre·tɛr 'creature', me·tɛr 'matter', le·tɛr 'letter', me·nɛr 'manner', fe·mle 'family', pe·res 'parish'; with e only: venɪʃ 'vanish', 'setɪs'fi: 'satisfy'.

---

[1]) The StE. equivalents are ɑ: and ə:, e.g. ɑ:m 'arm', lə:n 'learn'. This ə: also stands for *ir*, our ɜr, e.g. hə:d = OE. *heord* and *hierde*, Buchan *herd and hɜrd 'the herd' and 'herdsman'; cf. ɑ he·rd θɜrte herte hɜrdz 'I heard thirty hearty herdsmen'.

§ 34. 8. From earlier *ĕ* before (final) *l, n, m, ng.*

a) sne·l G. *schnell* 'fierce, of the wind', de·l OE. *delfan* 'dig', he·l OE. *hell* 'hell', so also *sell, tell, fell, himsel'*, ne·l *Nell(ie);* ske·l Wilson for Fife *skell* Loth. *scail* 'spill'.[1])

b) ke·n OE. *cennan* 'know', so also *men, den, hen, ten.* he·m 'hem', fre·mt 'strange',[2]) be·n OE. *bendan* 'bend', so also *spend, mend, send,* cf. ðə se·nz 'forerunners at a marriage'. For le·n 'lend', cf. § 78 Note 2.

c) spe·ŋi wa·n 'a *(spengie = Spain)* wand' § 112 c, me·ŋɪ G. *Menge* 'a large number' (§ 106).

Note: In spite of e lengthened, the examples of b) do not coalesce with those of § 30 a (cf. ke·n : ke·ɛn); those of a), on the other hand, can no longer be distinguished from e·l < *āl* (§§ 27, 28), cf. he·ɛl 'hail' : he·l 'whole' : he·l 'hell' § 79.

e

§ 35. 1. From earlier *ĕ* (= Westgerm. *ë*, Umlaut-*ę*).

a) red OE. *hreddan* or rather MLG. *redden* (OED.) 'to put in order', eb OE. *ebba* sb. 'not deep', 'webfit 'webbed feet', seg OE. *secʒ* 'sedge', fes OE. *fetian* 'fetch', sek ON. *sekk-r* 'sack' (§ 36 a), blek ON. *blek* 'boot-polish', fek (aphetic for *effect*, OED.) 'the bigger portion of s.th.'.[3])

[1]) The etymology of this common Scots word is not settled yet. The only reason for registering it in this paragraph is Wilson's form for Fife and the occasional modern spelling *skell.* The various possible etymologies point to one of the two ablaut-groups *skel/skal* (ON. *skilja*, OE. *scealu*): *skil/*skail* (ON. *skil*). The base *skel* as in OE. *scelian* < **skelōn* (Falk-Torp) would imply lengthening and produce *skɪ·l; the base *skal-* with lengthening (§ 28) would supply the prevalent form, spelt *scail, scale;* so would the base **skail* (not connected with the former, e.g. ON. *skilja*, as stated by OED. sub *skail*) whether in its OE. *ā* or the ON. *ei*-form (§ 27).

[2]) Wilson for Perth and Fife *fremd*, for Lothian *fraimd.*

[3]) But for the different quality of e (§ 9) most words correspond to StE., e.g. *bed, egg, leg, beg, nest, best, pest, get, bet, debt, set, neck, deck* etc. Of obscure origin: snek 'latch', flek ðə ʃip 'to put the sheep into the fold'.

b) In disyllables, provided no lengthening has taken place: feðɪr OE. *feðer* 'feather', leðɪr 'leather', edɪr OE. *eodor* 'enclosure, to plait a rick',[1]) betɛr 'better', fetl OE. *fetel* '(fit) condition, trim', ketl 'kettle', etl ON. *ætla, etla* < **ahtilon* 'aim at', smedɪm OE. *smedma* 'shrewdness'.

c) eljɪr OE. *eldra* 'church elder'; in front of all other consonants *el* > ɪl § 58 b; cf. *en* > ɪn § 58 a, *er* > ɪr § 58 c.

§ 36. 2. Answering to OE. *a, æ, á, é*.

a) gles OE. *ʒlæs* 'glass', bres OE. *bræs* 'brass', gref[2]) OE. *ʒræf* 'grave', eftɛr OE. *æfter* 'after', fest OE. *fæst* 'fast', 'festɛrnz'i·n (BBr. X 372 *on the fasteryn evyn*) OE. *fastenes ǽfen* 'the eve of the fast, Shrove Tuesday', mestɛr 'master', neste 'nasty', eks 'ax', eksl ME. *axel* 'axle', sek OE. *sacc* 'sack' (§ 35 a).

b) geðɪr OE. *ʒadrian* 'gather', bleðɪr ME. *blather* 'talk nonsense', heðɪr Nhb. *haddre* 'heather', dregɪn 'kite', hemɛr (Auchterless) 'hammer', epl OE. *æppel* 'apple', 'seterdɪ OE. *Sæterndæʒ* 'Saturday', 'etɛrkap OE. *attor-coppa* 'spider'.

c) lest OE. *lǽstan* 'to last', lest (Mintlaw) OE. *lǽst* 'least', mest OE. *mǽst* 'most', 'emɛrti·n cf. OE. *ǽmete* 'ant', en 'edɪr OE. *nǽddre* 'an adder', bledɪr 'bladder', heren (Auchterless) 'herring', kled ON. *klǽdd-r* 'clad', in the pt. forms led OE. *lǽdde* 'led', het OE. *hǽtte* 'heated', met OE. *métte* 'met' etc. § 168, and in the compound ʃepɪrd OE. *scéphirde* 'shepherd'.

Note: The fact that there are words in each group that are also heard with e· or even e: (me·stɛr, ne·ste, ge·ðɪr, ble·ðɪr, dre:gɪn (§ 28), he·mɛr, he·ren (§ 19), le·st 'least', me·st) renders an appreciation of the development rather difficult, since these (half)lengths warrant the alternative courses described in §§ 28, 32.[3]) Apart from these possibilities

[1]) cf. Swiss G. *Etter* 'fence', *ätteren* 'to plait' (Idiotikon I 597, 599).

[2]) The more common form to-day is greɪv, after StE. M. is wrong in entering this word along with e·0, ge·st, as if it were gre·f (§ 28).

[3]) het by the side of he·t may be explained in the same way as StE. *hot* instead of **hoat*. The form with the short vowel is evolved from the comparative: he·t < *hát* whereas *háttre* > hetɛr, hence het.

group c) must be considered the shortenings of *ē* (§ 19 Note 1), *ę* (§ 20); group a) we take to be the direct change of *a* > *ĕ*, specially before *s*, *f*, in spite of earlier spellings like *graif*, *aix*,[1]) adduced by M. in support of his theory *a* > *ā* > *ē* > *e*. With b) *ā* > *ē* may (but need not) have been passed through, the e: being more in evidence.

Note the remarkable e·s (never es) OE. *æsce* 'ashes'; cf. NEGr. § 54; EDGr. § 27.

§ 37. 3. Answering to ME. *i*, StE. ɪ.

kenl̩ ME. *kindlen* 'kindle', ben OE. *b-inna*[2]) 'the inner room of a *but an' ben* cottage', denɛr 'dinner'.

Note: These forms are not confined to Buchan; Wilson quotes them for Perth, Fife and Lothian, EDD. *kendlin* as Scots, *kenlin* Cai., but *kinlin* for Banff. Our pronunciation is homophonous with *(a dog's) kennel;* M. has kɪnl̩.

§ 38. feçt : rɪçt, *fight : right*, G. *Ge-fëcht : rëcht.*

OE. *-eht*, *-iht*, *-ieht* developed in StE. to *-ight* (aɪt) with the exception of OE. *wiht* > *weight* (weɪt) owing to its close association with the verb *to weigh* < ME. *weien* (Jordan § 96).

In our dialect there is, beside weçt 'weight', another exception: feçt 'fight', a fact which is of more than local importance, since it is historical for Scottish generally. Whilst south of the Humber every *-eht* at the end of the OE. period turned *-iht*, north of it and in Scotch the three words *feht*, *heht*, *cneht* kept their *e* (cf. Jordan § 69).[3])

[1]) These *ai* spellings are very irregular (probably the *e* was of variable quantity then); on the other hand Morsbach MEGr. § 87 Anm. quotes many of our words with *e* by the side of *a* (not only before *s*, *f*, *sh*), and finally EDD. registers *graf* for many English counties, *gref* for Scotland.

[2]) cf. Du. *binnenzee en buitenzee.*

[3]) Bülbring (ABb. 9.70): "*e* wurde nicht zu *i* in den noch im Frühmittelenglischen zweisilbigen Formen *fehte, hehte*", because of the velar vowel following, e.g. *feohtan, cneohtas.*

Whatever the reason, the fact remains that these words stand apart; cf. ONhb. *cnœht, gifœht* against *reht, breht;* Burns: *fecht* against *night, bright.*[1])

M. § 48, 2 groups them all together indiscriminately — even *weight* — and allows them all the double form ɪ and e.[2])

It is very unusual for e and ɪ (ɛ) to interchange. Even the words of § 58 have no alternative pronunciation.

Ellis's records of *fight night weight* for the Scottish areas show a clear distinction betwen 1, 3 and 2. Only for D 39, our area, he has some obviously tentative transcriptions. His records are: *fekjht nêkjht nekht ni„kht wɛkjht hekjht.* Whatever the exact shade of the vowel, he appears to put *fight* together with *night (height)* and away from *weight,* whilst my informants — and people from Deeside corroborated it — firmly distinguished feçt weçt from the -çt-words in §§ 57 e, 58 d.[3])

a:

§ 39. 1. From earlier *au* < OE. *a, á* + *ɜ, w; al* + cons.

a) a:fɛ cf. OE. **aɜa* 'awful, very', dra: OE. *draɜan* 'draw', la: 'law', ha:(θorn) 'hawthorn', (tate)ʃa: OE. *scaɜa* 'shaw', ʃa:v cf. OE. *saɜu* 'to saw'.

b) kla: OE. *clawu* 'claw', θra: OE. *þrawu* 'throe', bla: OE. *bláwan* 'blow', θra: OE. *þráwan* 'to twist', kra: OE. *cráwan* 'to crow', ʃa:v OE. *sáwan* 'to sow', sna: OE. *snáw* 'snow', ra: 1. OE. *ráw* 'a row', 2. OE. *hréa(w)* 'raw', si:'ma: cf. ON. pl. *mávar* 'sea-gull'.

---

[1]) It is extraordinary that Barbour should rime *fycht* with any other word of this class: II 241 *litill of mycht — fycht;* 310 *fycht — rycht;* 400 *fycht — knycht;* III 77 *fycht — flycht;* so also 522, VI 391. The spelling *fecht* is, however, found as often or oftener: VIII 288; XVIII 427, 434, 437, particularly in the middle of the line. No evidence can be derived from B.'s rimes.

[2]) nïçt, ɛ; wïçt, ɛ; fïçt, ɛ.

[3]) Curtis's statements § 420 are inaccurate both with regard to the North-East and Ellis.

c) ɑ: OE. *all* 'all', so also *small, fall, wall, ball,* kɑ: 'call, drive', 'for'stɑ: 'fore-stall, manger', 'stɑ:'kolɛr 'rope at the manger'. ɑ:l OE. *ald* 'old', so also *bold* § 130 (III), *cold, fold, scold;* kɑ:r OE. *calfru* 'calves', dwɑ:m cf. OHG. *twalm* 'swoon'; bɑ:k OE. *balca* 'beam of the scales', wɑ:k OE. *walcan* 'to shrink', cf. wɑ:kmɨl G. *Walke* 'fulling mill', sɑ:t 'salt', mɑ:t 'malt', dɑ:te Gael. *dalta* 'darling', xwɑ:p (< **hwalp* OED.) 'curlew'; hɑ:x OE. *halh* 'level ground by river', sɑ:x OE. *salh* 'willow',[1]) hɑ'f 'half', kɑ'f 'calf', fɑ:s 'false'.

d) with preceding j as an alternative or instead of e: (§ 106): tjɑ:v 'to toil' (§ 123), gjɑ:n 'going', kjɑ'k 'cake', njɑ'kɛt 'naked'.

e) isolated examples: dʒɑ: 1. 'jaw', 2. 'wave, to dash', ʃɑ:ps 'husks', tʃɑ:mɛr Fr. *chambre* 'the men's room'.

§ 40. 2. From *a, ā* + plosive (normally > ɑ or e:).

wɑ:kŋ OE. *wæcnan* 'to waken', xwɑ:k 'whack', tɑ:pe Swed. *tåpig* 'thoughtless person', ɑ:prən 'apron', kɑ'p OE. *cappa* 'a brose bowl', jɑ'p OE. *ʒeáp* 'eager, hungry', tɑ'tez 'potatoes', spɑ:d OE. *spada* LG. *spāde* 'spade' and see § 39 d; cf. also § 76.

§ 41. 3. From earlier *ar* (< OE., ON. *er, ar,* OE. *ær, ear*).

wɑ:r ON. *verri* 'worse', ə'wɑ:r OE. *ʒewær* 'aware', fɑ:r 1. ON. *hvar* 'where', 2. OE. *feorr* 'far', stɑ:r OE. *steorra* 'star', dɑ:r OE. *dear(r)* 'dare', gɑ:r ON. *ger(v)a* 'to compel', 'wi'l-, 'ʌlwɑ:r-t cf. ON. *verja* 'well-, ill-spent, -deserved';[2]) so also *bar, war.* For 'ʌlfɑ:r-t 'ill-favoured, ugly' see § 122.

Note: This ɑ: is probably historically identical with ɑ of § 46. It owes its length to the position before single final r. The variant gar 'compel' like war 'were' (§ 170) may be due to

[1]) wɑ'lnɨt OE. *walh-hnutu* 'walnut' had lost the *-h* in OE. Words like spɾɑ:l 'sprawl', bɑ:lz '(balls), calves' are probably late imports.

[2]) It is worthy of note that both ON. *ger(v)a* and *verja* (owing to different structure?) did not go the way of their OE. equivalents; cf. OE. *węrian* 'to clothe' > wi:r 'wear' § 20.

weak sentence-stress or, like darnə (against da:r), to disyllabic word-stress, e.g. in ʌl 'garjɨ 'di:t 'I'll make you do it'.

§ 42. 4. From earlier *ā, ai* after *w*.

fa: OE. *hwá* 'who', twa: OE. *twá* 'two', 'si:'wa:r OE. *wár* 'seaweed', ə'wa: OE. *on weȝ* 'away', xʍa:l 'whale' § 115; wa:dʒɪz OFr. *wage* 'wages'.

Note: In all these instances e: would be the normal sound (cf. § 27 ff.). It looks as if in our dialect the sequence we:- were avoided and replaced by wa: or wəi (§ 69), just as we- tends to be turned into wa- (§ 46 c, f). There are, however, exceptions to this rule: kwe'k § 29, kwe'ɛl § 30, kwe'ət 'quiet';[1]) we'fɛ 'woeful', we'lɛn 'wailing', weçt 'weight' § 38. Our fa:r (§ 41; Lothian *hwair*) again might be from OE. *hwǽr* against ðe:ər < OE. *þǽr*. Note also -wa:r-t (§ 41) against Deeside -we'r-t, Jamieson's *wair*.

a'

§ 43. The result of modern lengthening of

a) earlier *a* before nasal (+ consonant).

ha'n OE. *hand* 'hand', similarly *land, wand* etc., la'm OE. *lamb* 'lamb', ra'n(tri:) cf. Norw. *randa tre* 'beam across the chimney'; skra'n (ðə bakɛts) cf. ON. *skran* 'to fumble, search for rubbish', fla'n (ə rik) cf. ON. *flana* 'a gust of smoke' and, with less regularity, the words of § 45 c.

b) earlier *e* + *l;* cf. §§ 46 d, 78.

a

§ 44. 1. From earlier *ŏ* in labial company.

man ON. *mono* 'must', tam 'Thom-as', stamək 'stomach', ramp 'romp'; af 'of', afn̩ 'often', laft 'loft', kraft 'croft', saft 'soft', drap 'a drop', tap 'top', ðə tapɛ o ə he'n 'the crest of a hen', tʃap 'to chop', stap 'to (stop) fill up', slap LG. *slop* 'gap in a wall'; badɪr 'bother', habl̩ *hobble* 'difficulty'.

[1]) But note EDGr. § 24 kwəit, with the vowel we should expect; Wilson for Perth, Fife kwəit, for Lothian kwe't.

Note, however, exceptions like **pot**[1]) 'pot', **bodɪm** 'bottom', **bodɪ** 'body' and others in § 49, and, on the other hand, without a labial **halə** 'hollow'.

§ 45. 2. From earlier *ă* (OE. *a, æ, ea* and *á* shortened).

a) **sad**[2]) OE. *sæd* 'sad', **fat** OE. *hwæt* 'what', **tʃap** OE. *ceap-man* 'chap', **stap**, now more commonly **step** OE. *stæppan, steppan* 'to step', **θak** OE. *þæc* 'thatch', **krak** OE. *cracian* 'chat', **tʃaft(s)** ON. *kjapt-r* 'jaws', **aʃ** OE. *æsc* 'ash', **waʃ** OE. *wascan* 'wash', **last** OE. *lætst* 'last', **wasp** OE. *wæps* 'wasp', **axt** OE. *eahta* 'eight', **lax** OE. *hlæhhan* 'to laugh', **fraxt** LG. *vraxt* 'freight', **draxt (ə korn)** ME. *draht* 1. 'a team of horses', 2. 'what they draw', **slaxtər** cf. OE. *sleaht* ON. *sláttr* 'slaughter', Deeside **laxtər** ON. *láttr* 'a litter of eggs', **flaxtər(spa:d)** ON. **fláttr* (cf. *flag of turf*) 'spade for casting peats', **klaxtər** 'the action of clutching'.

b) In disyllables unless *a* was lengthened (§ 28): **fadɪr** OE. *fæder* 'father', **watər** 'water' **akər** OE. *æcer* 'acre', **wadʒɪr** 'wager', **bakɛt** Fr. *baquet* 'box, scuttle', **kalɛr** ON. *kaldr* 'fresh'; **falə (la·n)** OE. *fealu* G. *fahl* 'uncultivated land', **swalə** OE. *swealwe* 'swallow', **lamɛs** OE. *hláf-mæsse* 'Lammas', **laðɪr** OE. *léaðor* ME. *lăther* 'lather'.[3])

The verbs **mak, tak, ʃak** 'make, take, shake' must have got their **a** from monosyllabic forms, e.g. the imperative,[4]) to which **lat** OE. *lætan* 'to let' owes its short *a*.[5]) **brak** 'to break' may have arisen analogically, but see § 46.

---

[1]) **pat** is or used to be Scots generally.

[2]) Thus: *bad, lad, gad, gab, flag, bag; fat, hat, that, clap, back, cast, lass.*

[3]) Of uncertain etymology: **trag** 'trash', **dakər (ə hu·s)** 'to search', **daxl** EDD. *daccle* (Flemish *dœckeren*?) 'to totter', **hantl** 'a considerable quantity' (§ 145), **krane** 'little finger', **marɛ** 'match, rival'. To put the last to ON. *marg-r* (cf. OED. sub *marrow*[2]) is not very satisfactory semantically. We therefore venture to suggest another etymology: OE. **ʒe-mearha* cf. MHG. *gemare* (Lexer I 836) < OHG. **gimar(ah)o* 'he who shares the horse with another'. For the form cf. OE. *fearh* > StE. *farrow, furh* > *furrow* (Jordan § 197 Anm. 1). The fact that our word did not come to the surface till ME. times and, when it did, in the evolved sense of 'companion, mate' (Stratmann MED.) may be surprising, but it fully corresponds to MHG. *gemare* or also *gespane* 'companion'.

[4]) W. Horn, ESt. 57, 288. [5]) W. Horn, Palaestra 135, 37.

The ablautvowel a has survived with the str. verbs of cl. III saŋ, fan (§ 153), with spak 'spoke', and it occurs with the verbs of cl. IVB (§ 155), VB (§ 157) whether historical or analogical: stak 'stuck', grat 'wept', krap 'crept'.

c) Before nasals, unless lengthened (§ 43), OE. *a* remained: man 'man', ban 'curse', swan 'swan', kam 'came', kanl̩ 'candle', rantl̩ tri: = ra·ntri: (§ 43), wanır 'wander', branır 'grate', ganır 'gander', saŋ 'song', laŋ 'long', bı'laŋ 'to belong', straŋ 'urine', staŋ Scand. *stanga* 'to sting', θraŋ 'throng', vraŋ 'wrong' (but note: stroŋ 'strong' for earlier straŋ); ʃaŋk OE. *sceanca* 'knitting', staŋk OFr. *estang* 'pool', raŋk u·t 'to get ready', θaŋk OE. *þanc* 'thank'.

§ 46. 3. From OE. *e (eo), a (ea)* in *r, l, w* company.

a) *ar*: ʃarn OE. *scearn* 'cow-dung', hard OE. *heard* 'hard', ʃarp OE. *scearp* 'sharp', barl̩ 'barrel', so also *yarn, park*; 'barfɨt OE. *bærfót* 'barefoot'.

b) *er*: sark ON. *serk-r* (OE. *serc, serce*) 'shirt', bark OE. *beorcan* 'to bark', harkŋ OE. *hercnian* 'hearken', harnz ME. *hernes* 'brain', karl̩ OE. *ceorl* ON. *karl* 'churl, old man', arl̩z cf. OFr. **erle* 'earnest money', hard ME. *hĕrd* 'I heard', fardın OE. *feorðinʒ* 'farthing', so also *barn, barley*; farər ME. *ferrer* 'farther', gar § 41 Note.

c) *war, wer*: warm OE. *wearm* 'warm', so also *swarm, warn*; wark OE. *weorc* 'work', warp OE. *weorpan* 'to throw', (mudı)wart ME. *moldwerp* 'mole', wardl̩ OE. *weorold* 'world', warst ON. *verst-r* 'worst', swarf OE. *sweorfan* 'to swoon'; war ME. *wĕre(n)* 'were' § 41 Note.

d) *el, wel*: ʃa·l OE. *scell* 'shell', jalə OE. *ʒeolu* 'yellow'; twa·l OE. *twelf* 'twelve', wa·l OE. *wella* 'a well', dwa·l 'dwell', swa·l 'swell', swalə OE. *swelʒan* 'swallow'.

e) *re* : raʃ OE. *resce* 'rush', θraʃ ME. *þrescen* 'thrash', θraʃl̩ 'threshold', straxt OE. *streht* (or *(ʒe)streaht* pp., cf. § 45a?) 'straight', vratʃ OE. *wrecca* 'wretch', brak OE. *brecan* 'break'.

f) *we* : wast 'west', wadʒ OE. *wecʒ* 'wedge', wad † 'wager', ðə swadz *Swedes*, swadıʃ 'Swedish', fan OE. *hwænne* 'when', wab (EDGr. 54; M. § 88) 'web', now web § 35.

Note 1. The groups a, b, c, together with § 41 supplement § 31. Their examples represent the alternative development of *ar* > ɐ·r (§ 31 Note 2). The form with e· is doubtless the more typically Scotch, since StE. has ɑ: or ɔ:. This suggests that ɑ might be due to StE. influence. Whilst it must be admitted that ɑ is gaining ground (cf. kɪrk'jard, tʃarle beside tʃe·rle and the pet form tʃe: *Charlie*, art alongside e·rt 'art') and that Wilson registers *yairn*, *shairn*, *sherp* (cf. the man's name *Shairp*) and *cairl* (by the side of *cawrl* = karl), it would hardly be correct to assume a stage in the development when e was the only form heard. Words like karl, hard 'heard', 'barfɪt 'barefoot' could not have been made to a StE. pattern, nor could warst, war 'were', wark, wardl, swarf. Group c shows that w- called for ɑ : there is not one example of we- in § 31 (cf. § 42), nor has Wilson any (except *wair* = our wa:r 'spend'). In view of these facts we must allow for a varying number of ɑ-forms from the very outset, i.e. from the time before *ā* > *ɐ̄*.

Note 2. The isolated examples lat 'to let', satl 'to settle', saks 'six' are best traced back to *a*-bases: ME. *laten*, variant of *leten*,[1]) OE. **sætlan* (OED.), Swed. *sæx*, *siax* (?).

o: o· o

§ 47. We have come across the o: sound as the occasional Southern intruder for e: < *ā* (§ 27 Note 2). Apart from those imported forms, o: is rather scantily represented in Buchan; i: and e: have spread at its expense. What is left is from the following sources:

1. From earlier *ǭ* < *ŏ* in open syllables.

do:ɛr ME. *dore* 'door', ə'fo:ər OE. *on-foran* 'before', smo:ər OE. *smorian* 'suffocate', θo·l OE. *polian* '*thole*, endure', so·l (ɪ ðə wɪndɪ) ME. *sole* '(window)sill', so also *hole*, *coal*, *foal*; fro:ð ON. *froða* 'froth', lo:ɪ OE. *losian*

[1]) If ME. *laten* and *leten* are shortenings of OE. *lǽtan* and ONhbr. *léta* respectively, we should expect *lat* to be the form of the South (Jordan § 49), it is, however (cf. EDD., EDGr.) chiefly Scotch; cf. Luick § 868.3.

'lose', similarly *hose, rose;* θro·t OE. *protu* 'throat', flo·t 'float', ho·p (§ 70. 5) OE. *hopa* 'hope'.

fro·zn̩ ME. *frosen* 'frozen', lo·zn̩ (o gles) OFr. **loseigne* 'pane of glass', o·pm̩ OE. *open* 'open'; note do·θɛr beside doxtɛr OE. *dohtor* 'daughter'.

2. From earlier $\bar{o} <$ OE. *ó*.

ho·st OE. *hwóstan* 'cough', 'bro·dm̩ (o tʃʌkɳz) 'brood of chickens', if the etymology *brōde mell* (OED.) is correct; cf. § 48 b.

§ 48. In front of nasals.

a) secondary for i: (§ 23), e: (§ 27 Note 2).

fo·mɛn 'foaming' (§ 23), jo·mɛn ut 'rushing out' (§ 27), sane lo·m 'sandy loam', lome grʌn 'loamy soil' (§ 27), gro·n 'groan' (§ 23; EDGr. § 122).

b) from earlier $\bar{o}$ ($< \breve{o}$-): glo·mɛn < OE. *ʒlŏmunʒ* (evolved from -*ʒlómunʒ* in compounds) 'evening twilight'. Note lo·n(ɛn) OE. *lane 'loaning*, piece of land not taken in'. [1])

o

§ 49. a) from earlier and original *ŏ* (cf. § 44).

jon, jonɪr, ə'jont OE. *ʒeon(d)* 'yon(der)', korn OE. *corn* 'corn', orts ME. *ortes* 'horse-dung', ford̩ cf. ME. *fordele* G. *Vorteil* 'prepare cows' food in advance', brod OE. *bord* 'board', trox OE. *troh* 'trough', vroxt OE. *worhte* 'wrought', boxt OE. *bohte* 'bought', snod cf. ON. *snoðinn* 'tidy', mot-e cf. OE. *mot* 'stained', stot OE. *stot* 'bullock', jok OE. *ʒeoc* 'yoke', stok ON. *stokk-r* 'fellow', pjok ON. *poke* 'bag', dok cf. Mod. Icel. *dokkur* 'cut off lambs' tails', knok 'clock'. [2])

In open syllables unless lengthened: bodɪm OE. *botm* 'bottom', bodɪ OE. *bodiʒ* 'body', [3]) dot̩-t 'in a stage of

[1]) Of obscure origin: ro·n (cf. OED. *rone*[3, 4]), ro·ɛn (§ 82) 1. 'gutter under the eaves' 2. 'a strip of ice for gliding' (EDD. for Aberdeen alone).

[2]) Similarly: *born, worn, shorn, torn, morn-ing, horn, horse, short; dog, fog, trot, lot, cock, sock, dock(leaf); box, loch* (Gaelic orig.), *post, frost.*

[3]) Also heard bʌdɪ but never bo:dɪ (EDGr. § 94).

dotage', rozɪt-ɪ (stɪks) 'resinous (sticks)', potɛtʃ Fr. *potage* 'porridge', stokɛnz 'stockings', toxɛr Gael. *tochar* 'dowry', rodɪn cf. ON. *roði* 'rowan tree'.

b) from *ŏ* < OE. *ó*: hoxOE. *hóh* 'leg', soxt OE. *sóhte* 'sought', similarly *thought, brought;* okstɛr cf. OE. *óhsta* 'armpit'.

c) from *ŏ* < *ă* : rotɛn OFr. *raton* 'rat', dʒok *Jack*, (mi·l)bose Jamieson *bassie* 'cask for flour', oxt ME. *ahte* < OE. *áhte* 'ought', one 'any', mone 'many' (Luick § 367 Anm. 2), ə'mon 'among' (§ 15), podɪk cf. ME. *padde* 'frog'.

d) from *ŏ* < *ú, u* : rox OE. *rúh* 'rough, coarse', brox OE. *buruh* 1. 'borough', locally applied to the town of Fraserburgh, 2. brox ru·n ðə mi·n 'halo round the moon'.[1])

u: u· u

§ 50. 1. From earlier *ǭ* before k, x, r (else > i: § 18).

a) bjūk OE. *bóc* 'book', xjuk 'hook', njuk 'nook', tuk 'took', luk 'look', kruk 'crook', kluk 'grasp', uk ME. *wǭke* < *wuke* 'week'; tjux OE. *tóh* 'tough', ən'jux OE. *ʒenóh* 'enough', lux OE. *hlóh* 'laughed' pt., plux, plu: OE. *plóh* 'plough', hjux OE. *hóh* 'cliff',[2]) sux OE. *swóʒan* 'to sough'.

b) bju:ərd OE. *bōrd* < *bŏrd* 'board', fju:ərd 'ford', su:ərd OE. *sweord* 'sword'.

While in these three examples u: is the only quality heard (but cf. non-Buchan førd spelt *fuird* 'ford'; Wilson for Perth has *fuird, buird*), the alternative i: occurs (§ 18), though less commonly, in mju:ər OE. *mór* 'moor', and it is the rule at Turriff for the Aberdeen City flu:ər (cf. also Ellis V 783), Moray flu:r 'floor' and other ME. *-ōr-* (§ 18).

c) There is one example of u: < *-ǭl* < *-ŏld* : (ɪ ðə) mu·lz cf. OE. *molde* 'in the earth' (§ 18).

---

[1]) Of uncertain etymology: tod 'fox', fob 'breathe hard', of sheep; Gaelic?: konɛx 'to ruin', boθe 'hut', tore 'grubworm'.

[2]) cf. place-names like hjux'hi·d *Heugh-Head*, fʌul'hjux *Fowl-Heugh*.

§ 51. 2. From earlier *ū*, which has arisen from

a) OE., ON. *ú*: ku: OE. *cú* 'cow', du: OE. *dúfe* 'dove', mu: OE. *múþ* 'mouth', mu: (ə həi, stre:) OE. *múʒa* 'the bit cut off with the hay knife', bu: OE. *búʒan* 'to bow', ʃu:ər OE. *scúr* 'shower', ku:ər ON. *kúra* 'cower', fu·l OE. *fúl* 'foul, dirty', u·lɪt cf. OE. *úle* 'owl', θu·m OE. *þúma* 'thumb', ru·m OE. *rúm* 'room', (swɑn)du·n ON. *dúnn* 'down', tu·n OE. *tún* 'town', bru·n 'brown', θu·zɪn OE. *þúsend* 'thousand', ru·st OE. *rúst* 'rust', kuθi OE. *cúþ-iʒ* 'couthie', ʃru·d OE. *scrúd* 'shroud', klut OE. *clút* 'clout', sutɪr OE. *sútere* 'shoe-maker', lut(du·n) ON. *lúta* 'bend', (tɑ·tə)spruts cf. OE. *sprútan* 'sprouts', drup ON. *drúpa* 'droop', suk OE. *súcan* 'suck', duk OE. **dúcan* 'to duck', djuk OE. *dúce* 'duck' sb. Note su·n OE. *(ʒe)sūnd* < *sŭnd* 'sound'.

b) *ŭl* + consonant (§ 115): u: OE. *wull* 'wool', fu: 'full', fu·mərt 'polecat' § 115, (smɑ·) buk-it cf. ON. *bulki* 'small in bulk and frame', kutɪr OE. *culter* 'ploughshare', ʃudɪr OE. *sculdor* 'shoulder', stut ME. *stout* < **stulta-* 'stout, healthy'; note bu·ldɪrz ə sti·n ME. *bulder(ston)* 'boulder'.

c) OE. *ŭʒ-*: su: (ə həi) OE. *suʒu* 1. 'sow' sb. 2. 'hay rick', fu·l OE. *fuʒol* 'fowl'.

d) ME. *ou* of uncertain history: pu:ər ME. *pouren* 'pour', dru·n ME. *drounen* 'drown', sputs ME. *spouten* 'spouts', drukɪn wit 'drowning wet'.

Note: In StE. and South of the Humber generally this *ū* has been diphthongized to ɑʊ, or, if shortened in ME., changed to ʊ and ʌ. Its place has been filled by u: < *ō*, which in the non-diphthongizing North developed in the typically Scotch way described in § 18.

§ 52. 3. From earlier *ū* of various French sources.

ə'lu: 'allow', u:ər 'hour', kju:ər 'to cure', pu:ər 'power', flu:ər 'flower, bunch of flowers', kurs 'course', kurt 'court', gru·əl 'gruel', tu·əl 'towel', tru·əl 'trowel', bu·l '(glass) marble'; kru·n 'crown', su·n 'a sound', ku·nts 'accounts', dʒug 'jug', putʃ 'pocket', pudɪr 'powder', dut 'doubt', futɪr

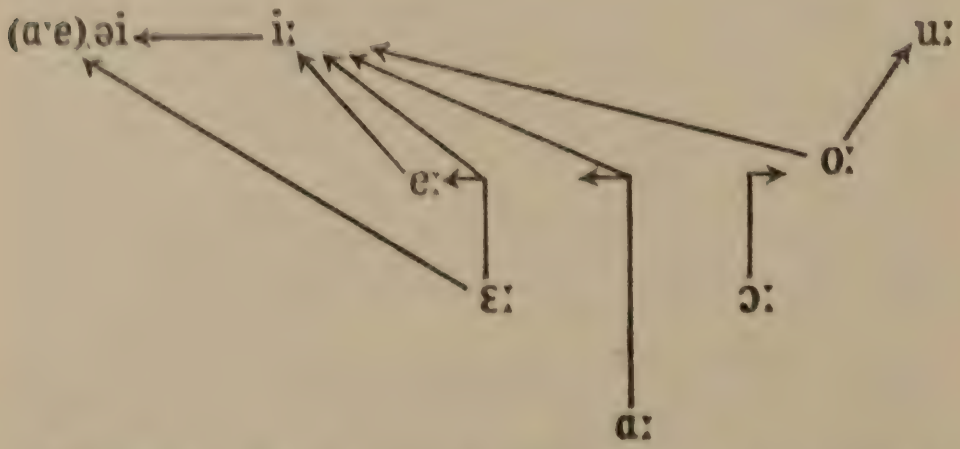
o o kro·tɛr OFr. *foutre* a term of contempt, pupit 'pulpit'; pu·ʒɪn 'poison', fu·ʒɪn 'foison, energy'; supl̩ 'supple'.

§ 53. 4. From earlier *ēu (éo + w), ōu (ōw < ó + ʒ).*

a) nju: OE. *néowe* 'new', bru: 'brew', ju: OE. *éow* 'you', tru: OE. *tréowe* 'true', klu: ME. *clewe* 'clew, ball of wool', spju: OE. *spéowan* 'vomit', lu:(warm) OE. *hléow* 'lukewarm', skju:z ME. *skew-en* 'the oblique lying beams of the roof'; blu:, θru:, ʃu: OE. *bléow* etc. the pt. forms of cl. VII A, B (§§ 159, 160).

b) plu: OE. gen. *plóʒes* 'plough', ən'ju: OE. pl. *ʒe-nóʒe* 'enough', wu: OE. *wóʒian* 'to woo'; dru: OE. *dróʒon*, the pt. form of dra: 'to draw'.

§ 54. The vowel shift may be graphically illustrated with arrows showing the movements from MSc. to the present form of speech.



The general trend, as can be seen, is upward and forward towards the palatal vowels i:, e: and əi.

a: ɛ: ɔ:, we notice, get lost; in StE. they have been created again out of diphthongs or through vowel lengthening. Not so in Buchan: ɛ: ɔ: are no longer known. a: has been re-created, but not through lengthening of a in open syllables — fadɪr, watɛr — but out of *a* + *w, g, l, v* + cons., i.e. out of *au* and through *a* being lengthened by a following *n, m*. The u: either remains or else is shortened and changed into ɪ, ʌ.

§ 55. The long vowels, although variable in quantity and partly in quality (§§ 4, 7, 9) according to position, are distinctly separated from each other. The short vowels ɪ, ɨ, ɛ, ʌ, on the other hand, overlap and blend into one another (§ 11), so that the same word may be heard with different vowels within the same locality: wɨrd, wɛrd, wʌrd 'word'; brɨm̩z, brɛm̩z (Gamrie), brʌm̩z (Y.) 'brambles'. And yet these transitions keep within certain limits.

ɪ ɨ ɛ

§ 56. These are the modern representatives of the same historical sources. Their occurrence is dependent on the sound that follows and on the stress. ɪ and ɨ may be said to be exclusive forms, while the ɛ quality, it must be well understood, is nothing but a local by-form of ɨ and must not be confused with StE. e.

Before tracing the etymological values of the group their distribution according to position will be indicated.

ɪ occurs before nasals + cons. (including *ng*, *nd*, but not *mb*), the voiced fricatives v, ð, z and partly before the voiced stops b, d, g.[1])

ɨ occurs in all other positions, i.e. before single *n*, *m*, *r*, *l* and all voiceless consonants.

ɛ occurs for ɨ in 'broad' speech, specially under full stress.

Examples: wɪnɪn 'winding' against wɨnən 'winning', grɪnɪn 'grinding' against grɨnən 'grinning', lɪv 'live' against lɛft 'lift', mɪðɪr 'mother' against mɛθ 'might', mɪdɪn 'dung-heap' against mɨtənz 'gloves', bɪd 'bid' against bɛt 'bit'.

Note: The above rule of distribution is not strictly adhered to, and it is at times a crucial and even impossible task to

---

[1]) This rule does not hold for Gamrie, where none of the nasals is preventive, i.e. the ɪ is in every case free to open out to ɨ, ɛ. The ɪ quality, so far as I can judge on my slight acquaintance with that dialect, does not exist. hɛŋ ɛn ən sɛŋ 'go on to sing!', ɛŋɛnz 'onions', glɛv 'glove', brɛg 'bridge', ə wɨznt stɛk 'a dry stick' are the ordinary forms.

make out whether ɪ or ɪ, ɪ or ɛ has been heard. The ɪ can be distinguished from ɛ by an untrained ear; they are the two extremes, but when it comes to the intermediate stages, our verdict is often bound to be arbitrary. The following indications may prove useful.

In *ing, ink* (ɪŋ, ɪŋk) the ɪ holds its own.

In *ind, int* (ɪn, ɪnt) ɪ and ɛ are also possible: blɛn 'blind', ə'hɛn 'behind', 'grɛnstiˑn 'grindstone'. For wɪn, wɪnɪ 'wind, windy' [1]) in other parts of Buchan wɪn, wɛn, wɪne de: 'windy day' can be heard. I always noted twɪntɪ 'twenty', but the vowel in *lintel, lintie* 'linnet', *tint* 'lost', was not always pure ɪ.

In *imb* (ɪm, ɛm) the ɪ is not heard: klɪm, klɛm 'climb', gɪmɛr 'female sheep'; *mb* acts as a single nasal.

In front of v, ð, z we shall use the symbol ɪ in spite of opening tendencies before v. Note the low-stressed variants wɪz 'was', hɪz 'has', dɪz 'does'.

In front of b, d, g monosyllables may have ɪ (ɛ) : ðə bɪg hus 'the laird's mansion', wɪd 'wood', sɪd 'should', wɪd 'would', brɪg 'bridge'.

In *ir* (ɪr) the ɪ is firm; as exceptions have been noted: brɪrz 'crush', sɪrz 'Sirs' or rather brɪrz, sɪrz.

In front of unvoiced s two exceptions have been noted: hɪst (jɪ baʊk) 'haste ye back', ə'lɪs! interjection called forth by sudden pain (StE. *alas!*).

The interchange of ɪ and ɛ is confined to full-stressed monosyllables; cf. § 96; hence words like dʒɪst 'just', sɪk 'such', bɪt 'but' never have ɛ.

§ 57. From earlier *ĭ* < OE., ON. *i, y*, Fr. *i*.

a) rɪŋ OE. *hringʒ* 'ring', bɪŋ (ə korn) ON. *bing-r* 'heap of corn', pɪŋɪn OFr. *pignon* 'pinion', spɪnl̩ 'spindle', hɪnər 'to hinder', flɪnərkɪn cf. ON. *flindra* 'rubbish', bɪn OE. *bindan* 'bind', wɪnək 'window', mɪnt OE. *myntan* 'allude', gɪzn̩ Scand. *gisna* 'to get leaky', wɪzn̩ OE. *wisnian* 'wither',

[1]) Which at Banff is even wiˑn (§ 21 Note 3).

mɪdɪn ON. **myki-dyngja* 'dung-heap', mɪdz cf. OE. *midde* 'middle furrows in ploughing', smɪdɪ ON. *smiðja* 'smithy', slɪdɪr OE. *slidrian* 'to slip', bɪd OE. *biddan* 'to bid', lɪd OE. *hlid* 'lid', rɪgɪn cf. OE. *hrycʒ* 'top of a house', brɪg OE. *brycʒ* 'bridge', bɪg ON. *byggja* 'build', θɪg OE. *þicʒean* 'beg', trɪg ON. *trygg-r* 'neat', sɪb OE. *sibb* 'related'.[1])

b) dɪm skɪn OE. *dim* ON. *skinn* 'dark skin', jɪr kɪn OE. *cynn* 'your kith and kin', rɪn OE. *rinnan* 'run', klɪm OE. *climban* 'climb', gɪmɛr ON. *gymbr* 'female sheep previous to being a ewe', tɪmɛr 'timber'.[2])

c) fɪr ON. *fyri-* 'fir', mɪrɛ OE. *myrʒe* 'merry',[3]) dɪrl (§ 116) 'tingle', skɪrl (§ 116) 'scream', kɪrn OE. *cirin* 'churn', bɪrn (ə stɪks) OE. *byrðen* 'bundle (of sticks)', θrɪste, θɪrste OE. *þyrstiʒ* 'thirsty', fɪrst OE. *fyrest* 'first', bɪrθ ON. *byrð* 'birth', θɪrd 'third', ʃepɪrd (§ 36 c) 'shepherd', skɪrp ON. *skirpa* 'to rain slightly', kɪrk OE. *cirice* 'church', bɪrk OE. *birce* 'birch', stɪrk OE. *stirc* 'young ox', mɪrk ON. *myrk-r* 'dark'.[4])

d) hɪl OE. *hyll* 'hill', kɪl 'kill', dʒɪl ME. *gille* 'a quarter of a pint', kɪl OE. *cylene* 'kiln', ʃɪlɛn OE. *scillinʒ* 'shilling', fɪlɛt 'thigh', stɪlts ME. *stilte* 'stilts', mɪlk OE. *mioluc* 'milk', grɪls OFr. *grisle* 'young salmon'.[5])

e) fɪʃ OE. *fisc* 'fish', kɪs OE. *cyssan* 'kiss', kɪst OE. *cist* 'chest', sɪft OE. *siftan* 'sift', lɪft ON. *lypta* 'to lift, the sky', lɪθ OE. *lip* 'joint', mɪθ, mɪçt OE. *mihte* 'might', wɪtʃ OE. *wicce* 'witch', kɪtʃe (§ 90 b) OE. *cycene* 'kitchen', θrɪs| OE. *þistel* 'thistle', wɪsk ON. *visk* 'wisp', dɪçt OE. *dihtan* 'make clean', vrɪçt OE. *wyrhta* 'wright', frɪçt OE. *fryhtu* 'fright', sɪçt OE. *(ʒe)siht* 'sight', nɪçt OE. *niht* 'night'.

f) dɪp OE. *dyppan* 'dip', klɪp ON. *klippa* 'clip', pɪt OE. *pytt* 'pit', tɪt OE. *tit* 'a teat', bɪk OE. *bicce* 'bitch', sɪk

[1]) Similarly: *thing, bring, finger, single, wink, blind, stint, winter, skimpie, tig* 'to tease', *big, middle* and all the inf. of cl. III A 3, 4, 5 (§ 153).

[2]) Similarly: all the inf. of cl. III A 1, 2 (§ 153); of uncertain etymology skrɪm 'coarse linen, cheese cloth'.

[3]) StE. *merry* has its *e* from Kentish ME. *merie;* but cf. *mirth* sb.

[4]) Of uncertain origin: dɪrd du·n 'throw down roughly', pɪrl 'to spin'.

[5]) tɪl OE. *tilian* (> *ti·l § 21 b) is StE. for Sc. *labour* (the ground); cf. Fr. *labourer*.

OE. *swylc* 'such', kɪtl̩ OE. *citelian* 'to tickle, ticklish', skɪtɛr cf. ON. *skita* f. 'excrement', 'ferntɪkl̩ 'freckle', wɪkɛt 'wicket, stile', bɪkɛr 'a bowl, large quantity'.[1])

Note: The examples of a) have not changed their vowel since ME. times; those of the other groups have had it uniformly lowered and retracted. In StE. group c) has gone a way of its own, viz. *ir* > əː.

§ 58. From *ĭ* answering to *ĕ* (also if shortened < *é, ǽ*)

a) in front of nasal + cons.: hɪŋ ON. *hęngja* 'to hang' tr., intr., dɪŋ ON. *dęngja* 'to beat', sɪŋ OE. *sęngean* 'to singe', wɪŋ ON. *vœ́ng-r* ME. *wēng* 'wing', ŋlɪʃ *English*, bɪŋk OE. *bęnc* 'seat in the hearth', θɪŋk OE. *þęncean* 'think', hɪnt OE. *hęntan* 'to hint'; bɪnʃ 'bench', rɪnʃ 'wrench', trɪnʃ 'trench', hɪnʃ 'haunch', strɪnθ 'strength', lɪnθ 'length', bɪnt Swiss G. *Binz* 'bentgrass', hɪmp 'hemp', trɪml̩ 'tremble', twɪntɪ OE. *twentiȝ* 'twenty'.

b) in front of l + cons.[2]): hɪlp OE. *helpan* 'help', skɪlf LG. *schelf* 'shelf', ʃɪlvɪn 'the additional frame work of a cart', gɪldɪn 'gelding', dɪltɪt '*delted*, spoilt with too much care', bɪlt 'belt', mɪlt 'melt', pɪltɪn 'pelting', ʃɪltər 'shelter', xwɪlk OE. *weoloc, wioloc* 'whelk', ɪlki 'each', tʃɪlp EDD. *chelp* 'to chirp' said of chickens when cold, *fɪlp OE. *hwelp* must be assumed to be the ancestor of fʌlp § 63, as ʃɪltɪ *sheltie* is a variant of ʃʌltɪ 'small pony'.[3])

c) in front of r + cons.: gɪrs OE. *ȝræs, ȝærs* 'grass', mɪrl̩z cf. OFr. *merellé* 'measles', jɪrn OE. *ærnan* 'to curdle

[1]) Similarly: *gift, thrift, rift, stiff, sniff, sit, a bit, fit, slit, smit, spit, hit, clip* 'a young horse', *grip, thick, swick* 'deceive', *lick, stick* etc.

[2]) Before single *l* the *e* remains, e.g. sel 'to sell', tel 'to tell', jelɛn 'yelling'. The spelling *till* for *tell* in J. Gibb p. 203 l. 41 is a misprint. In the pt. *tell't* the phonetic form tɪlt can be heard for the regular hɪ telt. In sel 'self' the influence of *f* (*sɪlf) no longer makes itself felt.

[3]) It is not quite clear that our two forms have arisen in the way suggested, i.e. *sheltie* > ʃɪltɪ > ʃʌltɪ. It all depends whether *sheltie* (a kind of literary form, OED.) is the form we have to start from. For the other possible development, i.e. *shaltie* > ʃʌltɪ > ʃɪltɪ, see § 64. Wilson has *sheltay* ʃeltɪ for Fife, *shawltay* ʃaltɪ for the Lothians, ʃeltɪ for Perth.

milk' (§ 116), gɪrn OE. *grȩnnian* (§ 116)[1]) 'to make a peevish noise', gɪrnɛl cf. Fr. *grenier* StE. *granary* 'corn-chest', bɪrst OE. *berst, byrst* 'exertion beyond one's strength, illness contracted with getting over-hot',[2]) jɪrd OE. *eorðe* 'earth', spɪrk OE. *spærca* Flem. *sperke* (Sc. *sperk* OED.) 'a spark, to splash';[3]) cf. also OE. *spircan*.

d) in other positions: brɪçt OE. *breht* 'bright', rɪçt 'right', lɪçt 'light', lɪçts 'lungs of a beast', hɪçt OE. *héhþu* 'height', slɪçt (o ha·n) ME. *slæʒþ* ON. *slǽʒð* 'skill (of hand)'; jɪt 'yet', jɪt OE. *ʒeat* 'gate', nɪt OE. *net* 'net', the obsolescent for'jɪt 'forget' § 131 (III), wɪdn̥zdɪ 'Wednesday'; ðo'gɪðɪr OE. *tó-ʒædere* 'together', blɪs 'bless', rɪst 'rest', gɪst 'guessed',[4]) rɪsp ME. *raspen* (> **resp?* § 36 a) 'to rasp, grate'; ʃɪpɪrd can be heard and may be the more genuine form than ʃepɪrd.

e) presupposed by certain words of § 63.

Note: The change *ĕ* > *ĭ* was wide-spread in ME., specially in the North, cf. Luick § 379. It seems to have been favoured by certain consonants (Jordan § 34). StE. has adopted the raising in some of the words of a), i.e. before ŋ only. Former grammarians, however, also record cases of d) for the literary speech; cf. Horn, NEGr. § 36.

§ 59. Through shortening of

a) OE., ON. *í, ý*: fɪft OE. *fífta* 'fifth', lɪtlɪn OE. *lýtlinʒ* 'little child' (§ 145), wɪmɪn cf. OE. *wífmon* 'women', a tɪnt ɪt Mod. Icel. *jeg týndi því* 'I lost it', lɪntɪ cf. OE. *líne-twíʒe*

[1]) BBr. IV 322 *gyrnand*, E. *grynnand*, H. *girning*.

[2]) The only survival, it appears, of the common West and North Germanic sb., OHG. *brëstо*, Mod. Swiss G. *Brëste*ⁿ (cf. Idiotikon V 836) 'defect, want, disease'. The StE. noun *burst* is re-formed after the verb; the ME. form is *brest* (cf. OED.). The distinction in Buchan between bɑrst vb. and bɪrst sb. is modern (EDGr.); old people still say bɪrst, e.g. dɪ·l bɪrst jɪ 'Deil burst you!', but bɑrsn pp. Sweet's remark (NEGr. 1354) "The *u* of the inf. being extended to the pp." does not hold for Buchan.

[3]) At Y. I got (StE.?) spark; but for Peterhead, Auchterless and elsewhere I heard spɪrks flɪːm ɑp ðo lɑm 'sparks flying up the chimney'.

[4]) This *i* may be direct from OLG. *gissen*, Swed. *gissa* (Curtis § 393).

'linnet', kɪm (cf. OE. *cýmlic?*) 'neat', kɪrsn̩ OE. *crístnian* 'christen', bɪrz OE. *brýsan* 'crush', ʃɪrɛ OE. *scír ʒeréfa* 'sheriff', sɪç cf. OE. *sícan* 'sigh', strɪk OE. *strícan* 'strike', strɪplɛn (o ə luˑn) cf. ON. *stríþr* 'a youngster'.

b) modern iː < ME. *ę̄* (§§ 19, 21): bɪn ME. *bę̄n* 'been', sɪv OE. *sife* 'sieve', lɪv OE. *lifian* 'live', lɪvɪr OE. *lifer* 'liver'.

c) modern iː < ME. *ę̄* (§ 20): nɪv OE. *hnefi* 'fist', hɪvɪ OE. *hefiʒ* 'heavy', hɪvn̩ OE. *heofon* 'heaven', lɪvɪn Fr. *levain* 'leaven', wɪdɪr OE. *weðr* 'wether', wɪðɪr OE. *weder* 'weather', nɪz ME. *nę̄s(e)* MLG. *nese* 'nose', pɪz ME. *pę̄se* 'peas', sɪzɪn 'season', rɪzɪn 'reason', mɪzɪr 'measure', lɪpɛ (dimin. of lip OE. *léap* 'basket') a measure, ʃɪlɛks 'the shells of ground oats'.

Note: The shortening in a) dates back to ME. times, whilst that of b), c) must be modern, unless we assume that the *ĭ* remained unchanged and *ĕ* was raised according to § 58 d. But apart from the fact that some have historical length, alternative forms with iː demand the ME. ancestors *ę̄*, *ę̄*; cf. our liˑpi, ʃiˑlɪks (EDD. *sheelocks*), liːv (EDGr. § 79), liːv, niːv (M. § 199), hiˑvɪ, hiˑvn̩ (M. § 111. 1). There appears to be an iː/ɪ, ɪ alternation.[1]) It is difficult to lay down a rule for the shortening. Disyllabism and a following v, z (cf. § 60) are the typical features.

§ 60. Answering to OE. *ú, u, o.*[2])

a) ʃɪv OE. *scúfan* 'shove', hɪz OE. *ús* 'us', hɪzɪ OE. *hús-wíf* 'a pert, forward girl', wɪr OE. *úre* 'our', dɪst OE. *dúst* 'dust', bɪt OE. *búta* 'but'.

b) sɪn OE. *sunne* 'sun', sɪn OE. *sunu* 'son', dɪn OE. *dunn* 'black', wɪnər OE. *wundor* 'wonder', sɪnər 'sunder', sɪmɛr OE. *sumor* 'summer', wɪd OE. *wudu* 'wood', nɪt OE. *hnutu* 'nut', pɪt OE. *putian* 'put', wɪrd ME. *wurd* < OE. *word* 'word'.

---

[1]) cf. also sniˑvl (§ 21 c) 'sniffle', snɪf 'sniff'; iˑs and jɪsk § 118 Note 3 b.

[2]) For 16th century spellings with *i, y* cf. P. Müller p. 48.

c) hɪv OE. *hóf* 'hoof', glɪv OE. *ʒlóf* 'glove', dɪv OE. *dón* 'do', krɪv, rɪv Scand. *kró, ró* (Flom p. 35, 37),[1]) mɪdɪr OE. *módor* 'mother', brɪðɪr OE. *bróðor* 'brother', ɪðɪr OE. *óðer* 'other'; fɪt OE. *fót* 'foot', sɪt OE. *sót* 'soot', tɪp OE. **tóp* (OED.) rather than Scand. *tupp* (cf. *tuip* Note 3) 'ram'.

Note 1. These three groups have been purposely put under one heading, as we do not know for certain what intermediate stages they passed through, and which were the immediate ancestors of ɪ.[2]) Luick (Studien 117 and again ABbl. XXI 36ff.) disposes of a) by assuming an early shortening to *ŭ*, whereby it is levelled under *ŭ* of b); this *ŭ* moved on to ʌ and further to ɜ, ɪ. The *ŭ-* of b) was changed into *ǭ* (the exact parallel of *ĭ-* > *ę̄* (>i:) § 21 Note 1) and levelled under the *ǭ* of c).

but	a) *ū*	> *ŭ*	StE.	u,	ʌ	course 1
sun	b) *ŭ*		Buchan		ʌ ɜ, ɪ	
son	b) *ŭ-*	> *ǭ*	StE.	*ū* > *ŭ*	> ʌ	course 2
glove	c) *ǭ*		Buchan	*ō̈* > *ṻ*	(> i:) > ɪ, ɜ	

For Buchan as for StE., Luick assumes but two sources, *ŭ* and *ǭ*. The subsequent development is different from that of StE. in so far as course 1 ran a step further, i.e. from ʌ > ɜ, and course 2 (fronting) is northern and specially Scotch.

Note 2. Course 1. The difficulty of this course is ʌ > ɜ, ɪ, since it is the very reverse of ɜ > ʌ § 63.[3]) The only explanation is analogy and, for dɪst e.g., the interchangeability of ɜ and ʌ, resulting partly from divergent developments

---

[1]) ə ˈheˑnzkrɪv 'a hens' run', ˈsweinzrɪv 'a pigsty'; cf. Jacobsen, Ordbog på Shetland: "*krú* indhegning, fårefold Icel. *lambakró* an enclosure for sheep".

[2]) M. for a) *ū* > *ü* > *i* § 144; b) *un* > *in* § 58; c) *ō* > *ö* > *i* § 136.

[3]) M. avoids it by assuming ɜ < *ü* < *ū* (§ 141), but there is no other evidence of *ū* being fronted. If M. (§ 135) even takes wɪd 'wood' to be shortened from *wūd* < *wūd* < *wōd* < *wudu*, he puts the change *ū* > *ü* > ɪ to a comparatively late period, at which it is difficult to believe *but, us* and others to have been pronounced with a long vowel (for *buton* with 11th century *ŭ*, cf. Luick § 354 Anm.).

in neighbouring dialects[1]) or the standard speech. After the regular equation Buchan glɪv = StE. glʌv our ʃɪv may have developed from *ʃʌv, thus falling in with all the other -ɪv words[2]) (cf. also ʃɪfl̩ OE. *scofl* [§ 18] 'shovel'). Similarly a following -z may be made responsible for hɪz and hɪzɪ (cf. dɪzɪn, kɪzɪn Note 4). With hɪz, wɪr and bɪt (against bʌt § 62 b; cf. also O. Ritter, ESt. 46, 40) weak sentence stress may have been of some influence.

Note 3. Course 2. The only doubtful point is the stage at which the shortening to ɪ, ɪ took place. Was it at the generally Scottish *ū̆* stage or at the subsequent N-E. i: stage? (cf. § 59 Note.) Similar shortenings outside D 39 point to the former, unshortened i: and *ū̆* variants to the latter: bri·dɪr § 18; ri:v, di:v M. § 134,[3]) *reeve* Jamieson, sit 'soot' Deeside, Morayshire = Wilson's *suit* for Perth; *huif* (our *hi·f) like *ruif* (our ri·f § 18);[4]) *tuip* (our *tip) for Perth and Fife but *tip* (our tɪp, now oftener tʌp) for Lothian, cf. EDD., OED. sub *tup*.

Note 4. According to their structure the examples of b) have been assigned to one or the other course. It must be remembered, however, that the alternative course is not impossible (*ŭ-* may alternate with *ŭ* according to case). sɪmɛr may have passed through *ǭ* or ʌ. Two ways were open for Fr. borrows like dɪzɪn 'dozen', kɪzɪn 'cousin', kɪmɛr 'gossipy person', trɪbl̩ 'trouble', stɪbl̩ 'stubble', sɪpɛr 'supper', kɪvɪ 'covey', kwɪntrɪ † 'country'. Our wɪd 'wood' probably went through *wǭde* and course 2, since wʌ- > wɪ-, implied by course 1, goes against § 63 Note 1. wɪd 'would', sɪd 'should' may have a different history, but shortening from

---

[1]) Wilson for Perth has them all with ʌ : *fut* 'foot', *shufful* 'shovel' etc.; for Fife and the Lothians the following have ɪ and ʌ : *foot, wood, us, hussy, but, summer, nut, put;* Lothians alone sɪt 'soot'.

[2]) -ʌv is or was unknown in Buchan; lʌv (M. § 56) 'love' should be lɪv and that is the form quoted by Ellis (*ləv*, like *sən* 'sun').

[3]) We recorded sɛ·v, glɛ·v beside sɛv, glɛv for Gamrie, but no trace of a long vowel at Turriff; glɪv is as short as StE. lɪv.

[4]) Wilson for the Lothians *rif* (= rɪf) 'roof'.

wō̤d, sō̤d is just as likely. The Fr. borrows ɪŋɪn 'onion', trɪfl̩ 'trifle' probably joined the *ü* of course 2.

§ 61. Concluding Note: ɪ is the regular representative of ME. *ō̤* shortened (e.g. fɪt 'foot') and ME. *ĭ* (e.g. fɪʃ 'fish'), ʌ that of ME. *ŭ*, whether originally short (wʌn 'won' pp., sʌm 'some') or shortened from *ū* (hʌnəɾ 'hundred'). Since with many words (e.g. *put, sun*) either ɪ or ʌ is historically possible (sɪn 'sun', sʌndɪ 'Sunday'; pɪt 'put', pʌt ðə stiːn 'throw the stone', cf. § 60 Note 4) the two vowels are on terms of equality and influence each other: ɪ is replaced by ʌ (mʌnθ 'month', hʌl 'hill'), ʌ by ɪ (dɪn 'dark', bɪt 'but'). ɪ for ʌ appears to be favoured by a following z and n (cf. dɪnət *'Dinnet'* for earlier *Dunnet* and *Dunnatie* from duni i.e. *Duinidhe*). ʌ for ɪ is fostered by certain consonants (§ 63). Often ɪ and ʌ are interchangeable.

The first reason for the affinity between ɪ and ʌ is therefore historical; for another and more modern reason see § 63 Notes.

The ɪ that corresponds to StE. ʊ, ʌ may by attributed to Gaelic in so far only as the Buchan — and generally Scotch — change of *ō̤* > *ȫ*/*ǖ*, which led on to ɪ, ɪ, might have been brought about through Gaelic influence.[1]) ɪ itself is of native, i.e. Teutonic growth; Gaelic does not possess it.

---

[1]) Murray p. 52: "If the labial part [in pronouncing uː] be removed ... we obtain the lingual element alone, viz. the Gaelic *ao* sound [which] might form an intermediate step to the sound now given to *u* in *muin*". Luick § 406 doubts this. It is, however, strange that palato-velar unrounded *ū* (*ō*) appears again at the other end of the Germanic territory (cf. p. 8 Footnote 2; Henzen, Die Mundart von Freiburg p. 234, puts it down to Romance influence.) where Celtic is assumed to have lingered on longer and made its influence felt in other ways; cf. §§ 117, 129. These sounds in Scots, Celtic and Swiss G. certainly have many features in common; they are all long, tense, unrounded, with a tongue position varying from velar to palato-velar (cf. Murray p. 149, Forbes, New Gael. Gr. p. 7, Quiggin, Dial. of Donegal, Wipf, Die Ma. v. Visperterminen § 6, Clauss, Die Ma. v. Uri p. 17). On the other hand Gael. *ao*, when taken over into Scots, appears in a variety of ways (but not as *ui*) e.g. as ɑ in Gael. *Aonghas* > *Angus*; u in *Loch Fraoin* > *Loch Broom*; ɐi in *Mac an t-saoir* > *Macintyre*; *caol* 'a strait' > *Kyle*; oː in *Raoghard* > *Rogart*; i(ː) in *caoran, caorag* 'a bit of peat' > *keerack*.

ʌ

§ 62. 1. From earlier *ŭ* (OE. *ŭ, ú, o, ó*).

a) sʌŋ OE. *sunʒen* 'sung', pʌn OE. *pund* 'pound',[1]) grʌn OE. *ʒrund* 'ground', ʌns OFr. *unce* 'ounce', hʌnər OE. *hundred* 'hundred', bʌl cf. OE. *bulluc* 'bull', bʌrn OE. *burna* 'bourn', mʌrn OE. *murnan* 'mourn', kʌrs OE. *curs* 'curse', fʌrθ cf. OE. *furðor* 'outside', lʌg Scand. *lugg* 'ear', rʌg Scand. *rugga* 'pull', bʌs ON. *busk-r* 'bush', bʌxt LG. *bucht* (ESt. 46, 29) 'hovel, hut', pʌt (də sti·n) OE. *putian* §§ 60 b, 61, ʌp OE. *upp* 'up', mʌk ME. *muc* 'dirt, dung', plʌk (o ə ʃip) LG. *pluk* 'heart and liver', rʌk ON. **hruka* (OED.) 'rick', bʌke cf. Lat. *buccinum* 'whelk'.[2])

b) kʌd[3]) OE. *cúðe* 'could', slʌx OE. **slúh* 'the skin of a gooseberry and other fruits', drʌxt OE. *drúʒað* 'drought', bʌt (ən ben) cf. OE. *bútan* 'the outer room of a house'.

c) wʌrsɛt OE. *worþstede* 'worsted'.

d) mʌnθ OE. *mónaþ* 'month', mʌnɛndɪ ME. *munendai* < OE. *mónandæʒ* 'Monday'.

Note: The change *ŭ* > ʌ seems to be spontaneous and general. There is no historically short *u* as in StE., e.g. *bush, put, pudding* (§ 1); every *ŭ* has become ʌ, unless further changed to ɪ (§ 60 a, b). Gaelic place-names[4]) with u (u:), when taken over into Scotch, show ʌ (less often ɪ; cf. § 61): *Drum, Drim* from Gael. *druim, drum* 'ridge'; *Dun, Din* from Gael. *dun* (du:n) 'town'; *Mullach* mʌlək = Gael. mulək 'hill top'; *Cults* kʌlts = Gael. *Cuilts* ku:ltʃ.

---

[1]) No notice has been taken of the lengthened and reshortened OE. *ŭ* as in *pund*, nor of a possible lengthening of OE. *ŭ-* as in OE. *cuman* > *cōmen* > kʌm.

[2]) Similarly: all the pp.'s of cl. III A (§ 153), *tongue, lung, hound, dumb, tumble, under, pull,* pʌlɛt 'pullet', pʌltrɪ 'poultry', rʌŋ (o ə ku:) 'a thin, bony cow', fʌŋ 'to pitch', rʌntɪt 'stunted in growth', skʌlfɪ 'the fill of a (skull) troughlike box', tʌrs 'to truss' (§ 116), bʌʃl 'bushel', pʌdm 'pudding', gʌdl 'catch fish with the hands', dʌb(z) 'puddle, dirt', bʌf 'foolish talk', gʌl 'a thin cold mist' cf. EDD.

[3]) At Gamrie, but inland now rather kud; Wilson for Perth kʌd, kud.

[4]) The *Bullers o' Buchan* are correctly pronounced bʌlɛrz o bʌxɛn.

Where ʊ occurs, it must be due to StE. having that vowel, e.g. ʃʊgɪr 'sugar', or the word being a borrow, e.g. bʊtʃɛr 'butcher', which has largely taken the place of *flesher*, once the common term for a butcher (Jamieson). An occasional bʌtʃɛr, ʃʌgɪr may be heard under the idea that this is 'polite', StE. speech.

§ 63. 2. For ɪ (ɪ) of § 57 ff. (= OE. *i, y, í, ý, ó, e*).

a) wʌl 'will', (hɪ gɪd) wʌl ON. *vill-r* '(he went) astray', ʌl 'ill', tʌl 'till', fʌl 'fill', fʌlət 'fillet, thigh', hʌlək '*hillock*, small heap of s.th.', mʌl OE. *mylen* 'mill',[1]) ʃʌltɪ '*sheltie*' § 58 b, fʌlp[2]) § 58 b, fʌlk § 124.

b) wʌt 'wit', wʌdɪn cf. OE. *wód* 'mad', wʌs OE. *wýscan* 'wish', wʌskɛr 'needle sheath', wʌsp (ə stre:) 'wisp', wʌrm OE. *wyrm* 'worm', wʌrmɛt OE. *wermód* 'wormwood', wʌrk OE. *wyrcean* 'to work', wʌrθ OE. *wyrðe, weorð* 'worth', and fʌrl̩, fʌn, fʌml̩, fʌsl̩, fʌtl̩, fʌp, fʌsk(ɛr), fʌske, fʌtlɛ, fʌtrət of § 124.

c) θʌml̩ OE. *pýmel* 'thimble', brʌml̩ OE. *brémel* 'bramble', ʃʌnɪr OE. *sinder* 'cinder',[3]) bri·dtrʌnʃər 'bread-trencher', mʌrdɪr OE. *myrðrian* 'to murder', blʌfərt EDD. *bliffert* 'squall', stʌdɪ cf. ON. *steði* 'stithy', mʌkl̩ OE. *mýcel* 'big', pʌkl̩ (cf. end of § 145) 'small quantity', brʌkl̩ OE. **brycel* 'brittle', tʃʌkŋ OE. *cícen* 'chicken'.

Note 1. What brought about the change of ɪ > ʌ?[4]) The historical references show that it is not the etymological value of the vowel. The grouping of our examples is meant to suggest an explanation. The cause is with a) a following

---

[1]) It is, however, always mestɛr mɛl or mɪl for *Mr. Milne*.

[2]) M.'s fɛlpə (§ 65) I never heard; does he mean fʌlpɪ?

[3]) pʌnlər (cf. end of § 22) might have etymological ʌ (cf. OE. *pund*), which is implied by the literary Scots spelling *pundlar*.

[4]) M.'s assumption (§ 56 b) of *y* after a labial, as in *mycel, mill* being levelled under *u*, thus sharing its further development lacks historical support. These words in early Sc. are regularly spelt with *i, y* ESt. 46, 29); Barbour e.g. spells even with *e*: Bruce I 170, 246 *mekill*.

l, with b) a preceding w or *wh* = Buchan f[1]), with c) disyllabism.[2]) There are few instances not covered by this law (cf. Note 3): bʌrst, bʌrn OE. *berstan, beornan* 'burst, burn' may be explained as in StE. (cf. Sweet, NEGr. 1354) or as from StE. (cf. § 58 c with footnote). But the exceptions are plentiful.[3]) All the less reason for giving the law a wider range as does M. § 51 by attributing the change to any labial before or after ɪ. On our conditions the difference of fɪrst OE. *fyrst* 'first' and wʌrθ OE. *wyrðe* 'worth', is sufficiently accounted for.

Note 2. The lack of consistency in the working of our law may also be gauged by the number of doublets with ɪ and ʌ:

wɪrd (§ 60b), ʌ 'word'; hɪl, hʌl 'hill', at Byth hɪl was stated to be more common, but the ʌ-form only was heard in ʼʌphʌl 'uphill', tə gjɑŋ tɪ ðə hʌlz, ðə hilɪn hʌlz 'to go to the Highland hills'; wɪznə, ʌ 'was not' wɪsk, ʌ 'to give a light, brushing stroke', twɪnz, ʌ 'twins' (Byth), twʌn kɑ:r 'twin calves' (Y.); twɪntɪ, with old folk at Byth also ʌ; -ɪtn̩, -ʌtn̩ participal ending §§ 151 Note 1, 157, fɪxɛr, ʌ 'to busy oneself ineffectively'. Note the differentiation of sense in the inf. wɪn—wʌn 'win—dry corn' § 153.

Note 3. The sound ʌ for ɪ has often[4]) been stated to be a peculiarity of Highland speech. It is perfectly correct that ʌ for ɪ is more frequently heard, the further north and inland we go. There are dialects in which they order ə tʌn of something, meaning not necessarily *a ton* but *a tin*. The tendency of favouring ʌ is remarked upon and illustrated

---

[1]) The logical inference would be that xmɪ > xmʌ was carried through before xm > f; cf. end of § 127.

[2]) Both l and w are themselves of a dull, hollow timbre, owing to the position of the tongue and the lips; this was transferred to the vowel.

[3]) Specially among c), which must be admitted to be a mere makeshift, cf. rɪkl 'loose heap' and the many examples in § 57 ff.

[4]) M. § 51; W. Grant § 184; Murray p. 111: "ʌ takes the place of ɪ in the central districts of Scotland". This is borne out by Wilson's records for Perth; cf. p. 46 Footnote 1.

in the Statistical Account (ca. 1775). If Gaelic speakers are made responsible for the ʌ-forms, it follows that to them ɪ must have been unpronounceable, as it is to others, foreign to the dialect. This tallies with what has been said about ɪ § 61.

But certain doubts make themselves felt: Is ʌ a familiar sound to Highlanders? A Gael speaking Scotch or English is tempted to say mɪtʃ, grɪmbl̩, kɪzn̩ for *much, grumble, cousin*, i.e. he avoids ʌ that has been put down to his account. Indeed, Gaelic lacks both ʌ and ɪ.

Again: Why, if it is a case of spontaneous substitution, did it not affect every ɪ? Are we to suppose, that ʌ at one time had been more prevalent — the Statistical Account and conditions in neighbouring dialects [1]) suggest that — and that our district, which has been beyond the influence of Highland speech for centuries, has given up many ʌ's, i.e. all except those in the positions mentioned above. [2]) The doublets of Note 2, according to this explanation, would illustrate the return ʌ > ɪ. On this theory we need not have recourse to mixture of dialects to account for possible ʌ-words, not covered by the above rule.

§ 64. 3. From the back vowels *a, o.*

sʌlts 'salts', ʃʌltɪ '*shaltie*, Shetland pony', twʌlt (cf. twɑ·l § 46 d) 'twelfth', pʌrk 'pork', J. Gibb fʌrm '*form*, long bench', hʌtək ə həi EDD. *hattock*, dimin. of *hat* 'shock of hay', drʌʃ [3]) '*dross*, worthless matter'; with o-variants (§ 49): ə′mʌn 'among', brʌx 'halo', pʌdɪk 'frog', (ne·)bʌdɪ '(no)body'.

Note 1. The ʌ may be explained phonetically (cf. § 15). With the first three examples it should be remembered that the sequence ɑlt is not known in Buchan (§ 39). Where it arose through borrowing or word-formation, it was assimilated in the less radical way, i.e. *a* > ʌ instead of dropping *l*

[1]) Wilson for Perth has noted ʌ with very few exceptions.

[2]) dʌtʃ for dɪtʃ 'ditch' can be remembered by old people at Byth.

[3]) drʌʃ has wider currency (cf. EDD., Jamieson).

with compensatory lengthening. Gael. *Sealtainn* (ʃaltɪn) *Shetland* is continued in the Scots spelling *shaltie* (cf. J. Gibb). The pl. sʌlts is no longer associated with sɑ:t 'salt'.

Note 2. wʌntɪn 'wanting', fʌn 'when', wʌz 'was' are alternative forms of wɪntɪn, fɪn, wɪz § 63 b.

əi ɑ·e

§ 65. These two diphthongs are the modern representatives of the same MSc. basis. Their distribution is strictly governed by the position in the word: ɑ·e occurs finally and before voiced fricatives, əi in all other positions.[1]) In the last century, judging by Ellis's information, their respective ranges seem to have been less clearly delimited (p. 7 Footnote 1); ɑ·e must have had a wider range. We choose at random from Ellis: *téim, táim; kneif, knáif*, where, to-day, but one form is heard: təim, knəif.[2]) We are giving the ɑ·e positions first.

§ 66. 1. From earlier *ī* (< OE., ON. *í, ý, iʒ, yʒ*).

mɑ·e OE. *mín* 'my', bɑ·e OE. *bí* 'by', hence bɑ·eɪs '*byous*, extraordinary', kɑ·e OE. *cý* 'cows', drɑ·e OE. *drýʒe* 'dry', sɑ·e OE. *síon* < **síhan*[3]) 'to strain (milk)', rɑ·e OE. *ryʒe* 'rye', lɑ·e cf. OE. *hé liʒeð* 'to lie', bɑ·e cf. OE. *hé byʒeð* 'to buy', dɑ·e (OED.) 'to dye', tɑ·e (OED.) 'to tie'; fɑ·ev OE. *fíf* 'five', hɑ·ev OE. *hýf* 'hive', dɑ·ev OE. *dýfan* 'dive',

---

[1]) This rule only holds with regard to the generally Scotch sources (1, 2, 3) but not where the ancestor is an *ei* diphthong (4, 5, 6, 7).

[2]) Wilson's records for Perthshire (Strathearn) fully agree with ours except in the positions before voiced fricatives and *r*, where the quality does not seem to be fixed as it is in Buchan. He has, *ii* standing for ɑ·e, *ei* for əi, the following: *fiiv, riiv, hiiz, tiizday, eirun, sheir* (and Fife: *driiv, thriiv*, Lothian: *beir, heir*) as we have them, but *dreiv, threiv, reiz* (so also for Fife, Lothian), *fiir, biir* (*hiir* for Fife), *wiir, weir* where Buchan has wi:r (§ 22).

Cowling for Hackness (Yorkshire) has the following distribution: ɑi finally, ɑ: before voiced consonants, ɛi before *r* and voiceless cons.

[3]) cf. Swiss G. *sīhen* (Idiotikon VII 586), StG. *seihen* 'to strain'.

dra·ev OE. *drífan* 'drive', ra·ev ON. *rífa* 'rive', stra·ev ME. *strīven* 'strive', θra·ev ON. *þrífa* 'thrive', la·eð OE. *líðe* 'soft, shelter', bla·eð OE. *blíðe* 'blithe', ra·ez OE. *rísan* 'rise', ta·ezdɪ ON. *Týsdag-r* 'Tuesday'.

bəiᵻr OE. *býre* '*byre*, cowhouse', fəiᵻr OE. *fýr* 'fire', ʃəiᵻr OE. *scír* 'shire', həiᵻr OE. *hýran* 'hire', təiᵻr 'tire', əirn̩ OE. *íren* 'iron', fəil OE. *hwíl* 'a while', məil 'mile', fəil OE. *fýlan* 'to dirty', təil OE. *tiʒele* 'tile', məin OE. *mín* 'mine', təin ON. *týna* 'lose', səin ME. *sīn* < *siðn* < *siððan* (Luick §§ 377, 444) 'later', həin ME. *hīn* < *hiðen* (Luick § 382. 6 Anm. 2) '(hence), far', nəin OE. *niʒon* 'nine', rəim OE. *hrím* 'frosty vapour, hoar frost', stəim ON. *skíma* in ɑ kanə si: ə stəim 'I cannot see a glance, at all', bəid[1]) OE. *bídan* 'bide', wəid OE. *wíd* 'wide', əidɪnt cf. ON. *íðinn* 'busy', fəit OE. *hwít* 'white', fəit OE. *þwítan* 'whittle, cut', wəit OE. *wíte* 'blame', skəit cf. ON. *skýt-* 'bounce', pəip OE. *pípe* 'pipe', təik ON. *tík* 'dog', dəik OE. *díc* '*dike*, stone fence', knəif OE. *cníf* 'knife', ləif 'life', wəif 'wife', əis OE. *ís* 'ice', ləis OE. *lýs* 'lice', məis 'mice', twəis OE. *twiʒes* 'twice', θrəis ME. *þrīes* 'thrice'.[2])

Note 1. The incompatibility of sounds in sa·eθ OE. *síðe* 'scythe' is no doubt due to the final consonant also occurring voiced: sa·eð (§ 102). Conversely twəiz is heard with the vowel of twəis, the pl. forms knəivz and wəivz with that of the sg. Such inconsistencies within the inflectional system must be allowed for; besides see § 139.

Note 2. The compound *fra·edɪ OE. *fríʒe-dæʒ* 'Friday' is shortened to freddɪ with a curious doubling of *d* (§ 104).

Note 3. In three words əi stands for *ī* < *ý* < *y*, lengthened by *-nd*: kəin OE. *(ʒe)cynd* 'kind' sb., məin OE. *(ʒe)mynd* 'mind' sb., vb., wəin (OE. **wynde*?, zero grade of OE. *windan* 'to wind') '*wynd*, narrow lane'.[3]) Why

[1]) Similarly all verbs of cl. I with *d*, *t* (§ 151).

[2]) Of uncertain origin: ha·ez 'to play practical jokes', kəip-i (LG. *kîpe*, OE. *cýpe*?) 'small round hole in the ground for playing at marbles', fəiki (ON. *fíkinn*? OED.) 'over-particular'.

[3]) cf. *Windy Wynd* (wɪnɪ wəin), a street in Aberdeen; Wilson: *weind*.

in these words the length of *ī* should have been retained, while ordinarily it was reduced again (§ 78 Note 1), is not clear. Curtis's suggestion (§ 395 ff.) that *y* + *nd* did not share the fate of OE. *i* + *nd*, but fell in with the StE. change of *i*, *y* + *nd* > aɪ is no explanation[1]); besides our pi·n < OE. *pyndan* (cf. end of § 22) goes against it; cf. also Luick § 429 Anm. 1. əim OE. *ende* 'end' is exceptional both as regards əi (cf. § 69.1) and the disyllabic form (§ 82).

§ 67. 2. From earlier *ī* in borrows from French.

spɑ·e OFr. *espier* 'spy', sɑ·ez OFr. *(as)sise* 'size', hence sɑ·ezəbl̩ 'of fair size', sər′prɑ·ez 'surprise', fəin 'fine', dəin ME. *dīnen* 'dine', gəid cf. Fr. *guide* 'to save', nəis ME. *nīce* 'nice',[2]) e′prəil Lat. *aprīlis* 'April'.

3. From earlier *oi* in borrows from French, Dutch.

tʃɑ·ez Fr. *choisir* 'choose', səil 'soil' sb., bəil 'boil', əil 'oil', taking the place of older i·li (§ 18), dʒəin-ər 'join-er', dʒəint 'joint', pəint-s 'bootlaces'; ləitər 'loiter', dəit 'doit', (bʌf ᵊn) stəit 'idle nonsense'.

Note: These borrows — many have come through StE. — keep up the ᵊi/ɑ·e distinction; cf. prəis 'price' and prɑ·ez 'prize'.[3])

§ 68. From earlier *ei, ai* diphthongs.

4. From earlier *ēi* (< *ɛ́ʒ, éh*).

həi OE. *hɛ́ʒ* 'hay', ləi OE. *lɛ́(a)h* '*lea*-grass', fləi OE. **flɛ́ʒan*, ON. *fleyja* (cf. 6) 'frighten', gləi ME. *glēʒen* 'to look asquint'.

5. From earlier *ai* < *ɐ̯i* (< *ǽʒ*).

fɑ·e OE. *hwǽʒ* 'whey', kəi OE. *cǽʒ* 'key', stəi cf. OE. *stǽʒ-el* 'steep', fəi† OE. *fǽʒe* 'doomed'.

---

[1]) The assumption of StE. influence is defeated by the fact of *wynd* being typically Scots.

[2]) Note klɛiək from Gael. *cliathach* (kli·əax) '*cliack*, harvest feast'.

[3]) The exceptional tʃɑ·es 'choice' may be due to the noun being less frequently used than the verb; cf., however, Wilson's *cheis* (meaning tʃəis) for Perth, Fife, Lothian.

6. From earlier *ĕi, ai.*

əi ME. *ai,* ON. *ei* 'always', wɑ·e (cf. fət′wɑ·e 'why') OE. *weȝ* 'way', wɑ·e OE. *weȝan* 'weigh', swɑ·e[1]) cf. Scand. *sveigja* LG. *swājen* 'swinging rod over the fire for carrying pots', dəiri cf. Scand. *deygja* 'dairy'.

7. From *ĕi, ai* in borrows from French.

pəi OFr. *paier* 'pay', gəi 'gay, rather', məi 'May', stəi (o ðə ke·rt) OFr. *estaye* 'stay, pole', kən′vɑ·e 'convey', kəiᵻr ME. *queir* 'choir', rəin 'rein', tʃəin 'chain', vəin OFr. *veine* 'vein', dʒəil OFr. *jaile* 'gaol', wəit OFr. *waitier* 'wait'.

Note 1. The distribution of əi and ɑ·e does not seem to follow any rule. Unlike the examples of §§ 66, 67, not all of these words show a diphthong throughout Scotland[2]).

Note 2. əi 'always' is common Scotch, so is ɑ·e 'yes' (of doubtful etymology). Though conventionally spelt alike *(aye)*, they never sound the same (cf. Wilson).

əi

§ 69. Of Buchan growth mainly (cf. Note 3) is əi in the following positions:

1. From earlier *ę̄, ę̄* (instead of i:, e:, e of §§ 20, 19).

əivn̩ OE. *efen* 'even', səivn̩ OE. *seofon* 'seven', ɪ′ləivn̩ OE. *endleofan* 'eleven', wəiv OE. *wefan* 'weave', pəiz ME. *pę̄se* (Jordan § 234) 'peas', kwəin OE. *cwene* '*quean,* girl'; swəit OE. *swǽtan* 'sweat', swəip ME. *swēpe* 'sweep', wəid[3]) OE. *wéod* 'weed', əizl̩z less common i:zl̩z OE. *ysle,* '*easles,* embers'; əirn by the side of e·ən (cf. § 78 Note 1).

2. From earlier *ā* (instead or by the side of e: of §§ 27, 28).

kləiz OE. *cláðas* 'clothes', wəim ME. *wāmb* < OE. *womb*

[1]) cf. Idiotikon IX, 1799 *Schwä(i)jeⁿ.*

[2]) cf. e.g. Wilson *cheen* (i:), *chain* (e:), *reen, rain; lei* (əi) for Perth and Fife, *lea* for the Lothians; *wei* 'weigh' for P., F., *wee* for L.; *hwii* (ɑ·e) 'whey' for P., F. but *hwei* for L.; *wei* 'way', *swei* for P., F., *swee* for L.

[3]) With the old generation in Buchan, but still current on Deeside.

'belly' against ke·m OE. *comb*, wəil ME. *wale* ON. *val* (Curtis § 18) 'choose', wəid OE. *wadan* 'to wade', wəiskɪt cf. ME. *waste-* 'waistcoat', ə'wəit OE. *wát* 'I wote', wəik OE. *wác* 'weak'.

3. From earlier $\bar{o}$ (instead of o: of § 47).

kwəit ME. *cote* 'coat', kwəil OE. *cŏl* 'hot ember'.

Note 1. The result of these changes is invariably əi. There is no alternation with a·e.

Note 2. Our examples suggest the rule that Buchan i:, e:, e, o: tend to be further changed to əi under the influence of w- or -v, -z. The -z in pəiz, kləiz is more than the inflectional pl. -*s*, for pəi is an evolved form, *kləi does not exist. On examining this rule historically and geographically, its soundness is, however, shaken: From Ellis's records we gather that formerly many an əi had been heard for e:, i: in positions other than above stated, e.g. təitʃər 'teacher', spəik 'speak', dəikŋ 'deacon', grəit[1]) 'great', fəit[2]) 'wheat'. To these may be added our trəikl̩ (Perth tre·kl̩) 'treacle', but not pəik[3]) 'peck, pick', which, in view of its wide currency even south of the border (cf. Wilson, EDD. sub *pike*) must be of different origin (OE. *pícan*)[4]).

M. § 110 records several -əiv words[5]) which I could no longer trace in Buchan: həivn̩ for our hɪvn̩ 'heaven', həivɪ for our hɪvɪ 'heavy', həiv for our he:v 'to heave', ləiv for our li:v 'leave'. Are we, therefore, to assume that the change to əi had, at one time, been more general, but did not get fully established except in the instances and

[1]) This form is still known on Deeside; Wilson has gre·t.

[2]) In Buchan the genuine form has disappeared (cf. § 124).

[3]) M. § 93 takes it to be a case in point because it serves his vocalization theory at the same time.

[4]) The adj. *hyte* as in a wɪz ə'but həit 'I was half mad' might, for want of a better explanation, be considered such a diphthongized form of he·t (cf. O. Ritter, ESt. 46). It would have retained əi, since neither semantics nor a StE. form could induce the return to he·t. But again, it may be argued, *hyte* seems to be known all over Scotland (cf. Burns).

[5]) M. transcribes them wrongly with a·e.

circumstances adduced? Indeed, not every e: has been affected by w- (cf. § 42 Note), nor are -i:v, -i:z (§ 18 ff.), -e:v, -e:z (§ 27 ff.) impossible sequences.

Note 3. While the diphthongization of §§ 66, 67 is spontaneous throughout Scotland, the diphthongs of § 68 are not universal in Scotch (cf. § 68 Note 1). The currency of əi with the examples of this paragraph is, at least now, even more limited, not a few being confined to Buchan. Their range varies a great deal. While some əi-forms (e.g. wəid[1]) 'wade') reach as far South as the Lothians, others (e.g. wəim, wəil) stop at Fife, others (e.g. swəit, kwəin) in Perthshire, others (e.g. wəiv) in Kincardine and some (e.g. wəik[2])) are only found in Buchan (D 39)[3]).

Note 4. The əi of this paragraph developed from a variety of sources. But ME. ę̄ (< *ĕ-, *æ̆*[1]) is certainly predominant. Cf. wi·t—swəit OE. *wæ̆*[2]*tan*—*swæ̆*[1]*tan* 'to wet—sweat' or kwi·n—kwəin OE. *cwén*—*cwene* 'queen—quean'.

The local pronunciation sti·n'ha·ev, st[ɪ]'na·ev cannot render *Stonehaven*, since, without considering other difficulties, we should expect -əiv. It is a compound with *-hithe* OE. *hȳð* 'landing place'; cf. *Redhythe, Cowhythe, Peterhythe* on the Banffshire coast also called *Reidhaven* etc., but apparently never pronounced ri·d'ha·ev etc. (§ 122, end)[4]).

---

[1]) Sylvester Douglas (an Aberdeenshire man, 1743—1823) 'On the Provincial Dialect of Scotland': the verb *wade* in vulgar Scots [generally?] is pronounced like the adj. *wide* (ESt. 46, 39).

[2]) Wilson has *waik* we·k, the form found at Gamrie and on Deeside; Ellis for Kincardine gives wɛ:k and *week*. The Buchan form, therefore, must not be referred to Icel. *veikr*, but explained as shown above.

[3]) Moray: pe:, pl. pe:z 'pea(s)'; cf. § 32; Wilson for Perth has (*ai* meaning e:, *ei* = əi, *ee* = i:): *saivun, sivn, ulaivun, weeve, pee, weeds, claiz, waik, aweel-a-waat,* but also, as we have it, *kwein, sweit, weim. weil weid.* The fisher folk on the Gamrie coast: e·zlz, se·vn, ə'le·vn, we·k, but swəitɛn 'sweating', kwəinɪz.

[4]) cf. Stow, A Survey of London 1598 p. 198: "Then is the parish church of S. James, called at *Garlicke hith* or *Garlicke hive.*" A. Mawer, The Chief Elements Used in English Place-Names p. 41 marks the variant *Hive* for Yorkshire. Cf. also *Redrif* = *Rotherhithe* (Jesp. I 13. 9).

AU

§ 70. 1. From earlier *ēu, eu.*

fjʌu OE. *féawe* 'few', djʌu OE. *déaw* 'dew', jʌu OE. *eowu* 'ewe', bjʌutɪ 'beauty'.

2. From earlier *ōu, ou.*

grʌu OE. *ȝrówan* 'grow', rʌu OE. *rówan* 'row', mʌu OE. *máwan* 'mow', frʌu LG. *vrouw* 'stout woman'. sʌuˡl OE. *sáwol* 'soul' is probably the vernacularised form of StE. *soul*; the genuine saːl (after § 39 b) is now mostly heard only in the exclamation *Sal!* or *By ma Sal!* cf. § 82.

3. From earlier *ou* (< *o* + *g, w, l*).

bʌu OE. *boȝa* 'bow, handle', lʌu ON. *loge* '*low*, flame', θrʌu < **þrog* OE. *þurh* 'through', flʌun OE. *floȝen* pp. 'flown', brʌudn̩ OE. *broȝden* pp. 'to pamper'; (klǝiz)tʌu ON. *tog*(?) 'rope', drʌu cf. OED. sub *drow* 'a fainting fit', çjʌu ME. *howe* 'hoe', fʌuɪr ME. *fower* 'four', ʌuɪr 'over'.

knʌu OE. *cnoll* '*knowe*, hillock', bʌu ON. *bolli*, OE. *bolla* 'a measure of capacity', bʌui (dim. of preceding word?) '*bowie*, cask' [1]), pʌu ME. *polle* '*pow*, head', hʌu OE. *hol(l)* '*howe*, a hollow', rʌu OFr. *rolle* 'roll', skrʌu 'scroll'.

gʌuɪnz cf. *gollands* '*gowans*, wild daisies', stʌuɪn 'stolen' pp., gʌud OE. *ȝold* 'gold', hʌuk ME. *holk* 'to hollow out', fʌuk OE. *folc* 'folk', sʌudrɪn bʌut cf. Fr. *souder* < *sold*, OE. *bolt* 'soldering bolt', bʌustɪr OE. *bolster* 'bolster', tʌumɪn ON. *tólfmánuðr* 'twelvemonth'.

4. From earlier *ou* (< Scand. *au*).

lʌup ON. *hlaupa* 'leap' vb., rʌup cf. Scand. *raupa* 'auction sale', kʌupɪr cf. ON. *kaupa* 'horse dealer', gʌupn̩ ON. *gaupn* 'the hollow of the two hands', stʌup ON. *staup* 'cream jug', nʌut ON. *naut* '*nowt*, cattle' [2]), rʌut cf. Norw. *raut* 'bellow, low of cattle', gʌuk ON. *gauk-r* 'silly person', lʌus ON.

[1]) Note (mɪlk)bʌuɪl 'milk cup', which is probably the StE. *bowl* (< OE. *bolla*) Buchanized as is sʌuɪl for *soul* (cf. above sub 2) and pʌuɪn not 'pound note' against pʌn (§ 62 a).

[2]) This is common Nhbr. (cf. Orm. *nowwt*) against southern and English *neat*.

lauss 'loose' adj., lʌuz 'loosen', rʌum(tri:) Scand. *raun* '*rowan*, mountain ash'.

5. From earlier *ŏ*, *ǭ* = StE. ɔ, ou.

hʌup OE. *hopa* 'hope', pʌuk 'to poke', tʃʌuks (cf. OED. sub *choke*[2]) 'jaws', kʌup (OED. *cope* < *colper*? cf. 3) 'tilt a cart'; ʌusn̥ OE.pl. *oxan* 'oxen', bʌuzum OE. *bósm* 'bosom'[1]).

Note: The ʌu of the last group reminds us of the analogous palatal development to əi (§ 69), only it is much more sporadic[2]).

Concluding Note. To illustrate the palatal side of the vowel range, being the more finely differentiated and therefore more bewildering, we now give the various shades side by side.

i:	i	ɪ	ɨ	ɛ	e	e:
bi·n	bini	bɪŋ	bɨne	bɛn	be·n	be·ɛn
bone	bony	bing	little bin	bin	bend	Bain
hi·l	hilɪ		hɨle	hɛl	hel	he·l
heel	hooly		hilly	hill	hell	whole
	sik		sɨk	sɛk	sek	se·k
	seek		such	orphan lamb	sack	sake

The Quantity of Vowels.

§ 71. The vowel quantity is always relative and fickle. But it is all the more variable, the more evenly the stress is distributed over the syllables of a word and the more deliberate the general way of speaking: two considerations largely to be reckoned with in our dialect. Moreover, long vowels by their nature are not all of the same duration[3])

---

[1]) Of uncertain origin: lʌudɪr 'walk heavily', hʌup 'a mouthful of drink' and (unless dim. of jʌu sub 1) jʌuiz 'fir cones'.

[2]) M. § 13 ff. explains them (at least those in *p*, *k*) with his law of vocalization.

[3]) cf. the figures that E. A. Meyer arrived at by means of instruments (Jesp. I 16.37).

— those of high tongue position, like i:, u: being shorter than ɑ:, o: — and not equally susceptible to reduction.

Otherwise the determining factors are (I) the consonants following the vowel and (II) the relative position of the syllable within the breathgroup, e.g. in disyllabic words.

Whilst the shortening effect of consonants can be graded according to their nature, the effect of stress is more difficult to assess. A minute distinction can only by expected from experimental measurements; the following classification into three categories should therefore not be taken to be more than an approximative indication.

Long	ɑ:	*all*	mi:v	*move*	bu:z	*boose*
Half-long[1])	gwi·d	*good*	re·p	*rope*	hu·s	*house*
Short	fɪt	*foot*	kʌt	*cut*	lɔt	*lot*

§ 72. Full length is preserved:

a) finally: kni: 'knee', kle: ən stre: 'clay and straw', θrɑ: 'throw'. Under emphasis a double peak may be heard: ɑ wɪz ðe·ər ti:i 'I was there too'.

b) before r: dɑ:r 'dare'; the other vowels have developed a glide; see § 82.

c) before the voiced fricatives v, ð, ʒ, z (also inflectional) ʃi:v 'slice', me:ðz 'maggots', kɑ:z 'he drives', du:z 'doves'.

d) (partly at least) before l, m, n[2]).

ɑ: remains: xwɑ:l 'whale', dwɑ:m 'dwalm', θrɑ:n 'stubborn'. e:n > e·ɛn see § 30a; e:l partly > e·ɛl see § 30b.

---

[1]) This middle group recruits its members from the two others through shortening and lengthening, being made up of long vowels shortened and short vowels lengthened; it is therefore not clearly delimited.

[2]) Murray — and similarly Grant § 211 — includes them among the consonants that stop preceding long vowels; cf. Specimen of Buchan Speech, Appendix p. 241 ff. Grant, not marking half length, transcribes p. 325 lun 'loon', brun 'brown', run 'round'. Ellis's authorities vary. For Cromar, Ellis registers *lunz, tun, min* 'moon' but *bruun, duun.*

With o:, i:, u: the shortening is — though not always — sufficiently noticeable to justify transcription with one dot.

θo·l 'thole', θu·m 'thumb', fri·n 'friend'.

Shortening due to Stopping [1]).

§ 73. In front of all other consonants — stops and unvoiced fricatives — long vowels are reduced, without materially changing their quality (cf. §§ 3, 7, 9). This phenomenon is typical of Scotch dialects in so far only, as the shortening of i:, u: has gone much, that of e:, o: a little further than in English [2]). In principle, however, it is common to all Germanic dialects [3]). Examine the pairs

Sc. *peat : bead;* StE. *steep : steed;* G. *riet : Lied.*

The difference is the biggest in Sc., less in StE. and least in G., where i in any stressed syllable is 'long'.

Note: The extent of the reduction depends on both the vowel and the consonant.

a) spa:d 'spade', me·d 'made', bro·d 'board', gli·b 'globe', ʃru·d 'shroud';

b) ka·f 'calf', gre·θ 'harness', le·ç 'low', rif [4]) 'roof', hiç 'high', hu(·)s 'house', sux 'sough';

c) kja:k ə bri·d 'oatcake', be·k 'bake', go·t 'goat', rik 'rook', dut 'doubt'.

The three grades expressible by our practical alphabet, often seem too few, but if we chose to adopt a larger number,

---

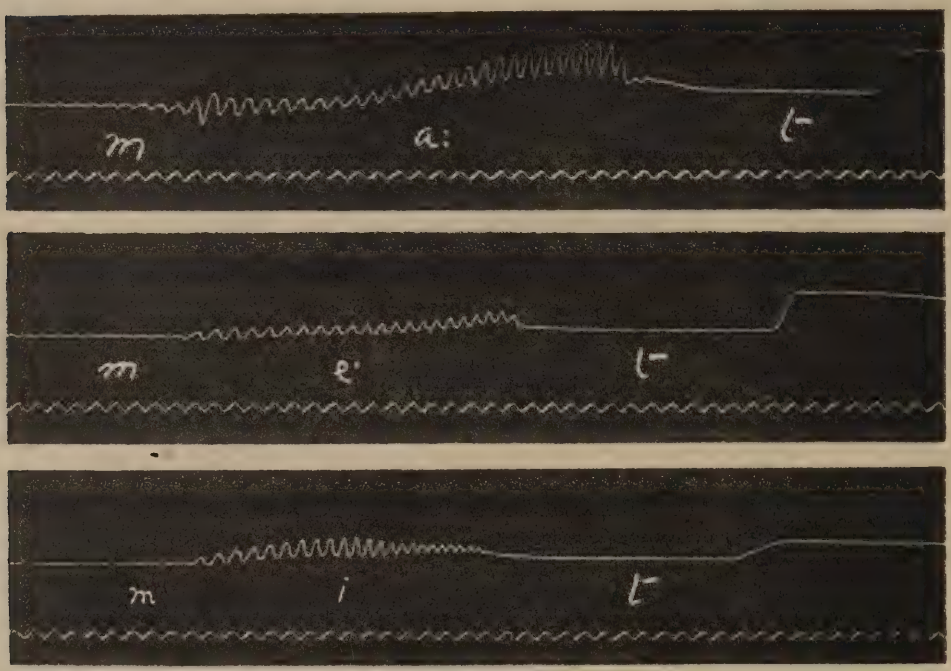
[1]) This term, which was coined by Murray is convenient for this particular phenomenon of shortening.

[2]) In Southern English e:, o: are diphthongized to eɪ, ou.

[3]) It is an axiom in phonetics that e.g. a: in a:p is shorter than in a:b.

[4]) As there are no naturally short i, u, this complete reduction does not create confusion, but rather completes the range of short vowels on either wing (§ 1).

we should be at a still greater loss what to assign to each individual case, at least if we trust our ears solely. Although the mechanical method of measuring only can yield trustworthy results, we feel safe in transcribing i and u of b, c as short vowels; with e and o we feel half length more justified on the whole[1]). The ɑ: is still more refractory to reduction: kɑ·f 'calf' is a long way from kaf 'chaff' (§ 8). kɑ·p *caup*, re·p 'rope', kip 'keep' serve to illustrate the relativity of quantity and of susceptibility to reduction[2]), so do the kymographic tracings for mɑ:t 'malt' ($^{21}/_{100}$), me·t 'meat' ($^{17}/_{100}$) and mit 'meet' ($^{14}/_{100}$).



[1]) Our notation of stopped vowels may not be consistent all through; i· may be found before unvoiced frivatives, e has hardly been used even before voiceless stops. Contrast re·p 'rope' with rɪp ʌp OE. *ryppan* 'to rip up'.

[2]) The very same process of shortening only *ī, ū,* the vowels of highest tongue position before p, t, k, ff, ss, ʃʃ (but not x) is found in the native dialect of Basel; cf. Andreas Heusler: 'Der alemanische Consonantismus in der Mundart von Baselstadt' § 48 xrut *Kraut*, tsit *Zeit* (but ro:t *rot*), wiss *weiß*, fuʃt *Faust*, pfiffə *pfeifen*. Stopped i and originally short *i* do not coalesce either, cf. risə : wɪsə *reißen : wissen*.

§ 74. Irregular Stopping. The stopping of i:, u: is not only the most radical and, thanks to the absence of historical i, u, the most noticeable, but also the most regular. With e:, a: (o:) the susceptibility to stopping is less, and the effect, moreover, is drowned by the fact of historical *ĕ* being the same quality and both *ă* und *ĕ* subject to lengthening (§ 78ff.). Hence the instability of quantity of a, e before stops, evidence of which is furnished by the conflicting records: he:k, he·k 'frame', ble·k 'baffle': M. § 15 *hek, blek*, EDD. *bleck, blaik, blaick;* ʃa:ps 'husks', ka·ps 'brose bowls', tʃaps 'chaps', spa:d 'spade', la·d 'lad', mad 'mad'; had 'hold' : M. *hād;* Jamieson's treble spelling *gad, gade, gaud* for gad 'loiter'[1]), the variant a· with slap, stap § 44, sad, gad, brak, (mɪs)tak § 45[2]); cf. also § 80.

§ 75. No Stopping takes place:

a) before the inflexional endings -t, -d.

hɪ di:t 'he died', ka:d 'called', bu:d, bu:t 'bowed'; compare hɪ li:t 'he lied' : lit pt. of *let*; fi:t 'fee'd' : fit 'feet'.

b) before enclitic pronouns that sacrifice their vowels, thus leaving the vowel of the verb either unchanged or over-long.

gi:z < gi: hɪz 'give us!', 'gi:t tə 'mi: 'give it to me'; fɪn ə sa:m, sa:r, sa:t 'when I saw him, her, it'.

But without contraction: ʌl gi· əm, gi·ər ə θraʃɛn 'I'll give him, her a thrashing'; or even gɪmɛt 'give it me!'

---

[1]) Ritter (ESt. 46, 15) has collected more than two dozen words with a + *d*, *t*, which by the spelling *au*, *aw* or on Wright's and Ellis's authority are proved to have or to have had a long vowel.

[2]) M. (§ 13ff.) quotes *hek*, *blek*, *kaup* as instances of 'vocalization': *ēk* < *eik* < *ekk*; *āk*, *āp* < *auk*, *aup* < *akk*, *app*. This looks convincing at first sight, but apart from the fact that in a good many cases the existence of the double consonant cannot be proved and that in others (e.g. stap OE. *stœppan* 'step', saks 'six', axt 'eight') the law did not work and that M.'s rule (§ 16) does not account for a: before dental stops, there is the serious difficulty of assessing and interpreting the quantity of a and e.

Shortening due to Suffixes.

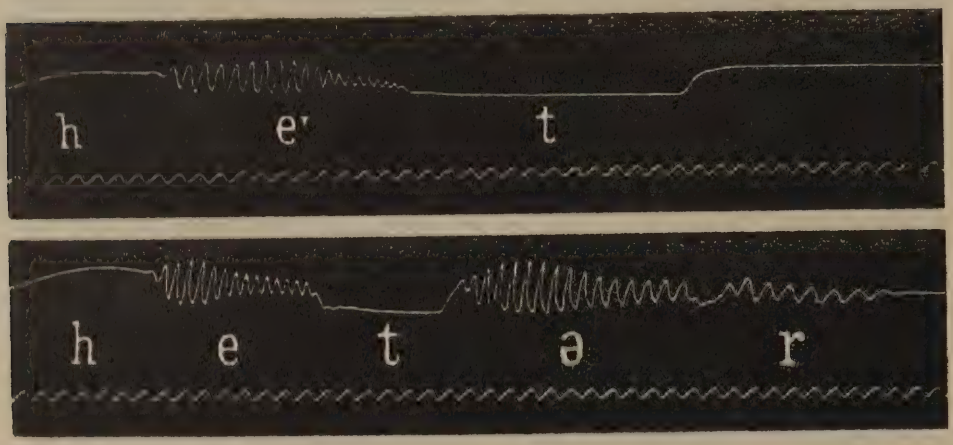
§ 76. Certain endings[1]) cause the radical vowel to be reduced by half.

-ie dim. **mu:** 'mouth', **ˈmak ə bone ˈmuˑi tə mɪ ˈnu:** said to a child; **ə stuˑri ə watɛr** 'a puddle of water'; **fole** 'small foal'.

Cf. the tracings **ʃa:l** 'shawl' ($^{29}/_{100}$) : **ʃale** 'l. shawl' ($^{14}/_{100}$).

-er, -est comp., superl. **riˑd** 'red', **ridɪst**; less distinct with **ka:l** 'cold', **kaˑlər** as against **kalər** 'cool'.

Cf. the tracings **heˑt** 'hot' ($^{12}/_{100}$) : **hetər** 'hotter' ($^{8}/_{100}$).



-lie adv. **hilɪ** '*hoolie*, gently', **braˑle, brale** 'splendidly', **feˑrle** 'certainly'.

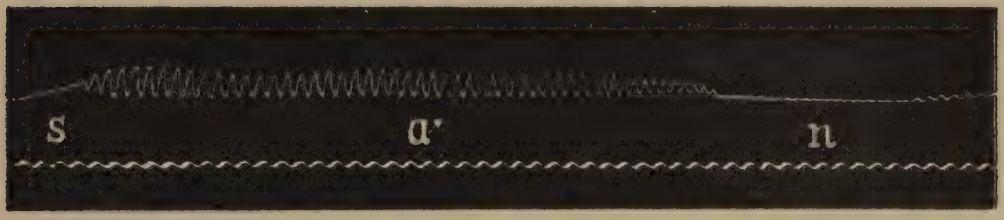
[1]) Murray (p. 97 § 4) recognises no shortening through derivatives: "When a polysyllable is derived from a monosyllable it follows the quantity of its primitive." In this book it is indicated consistently, unless heard differently.

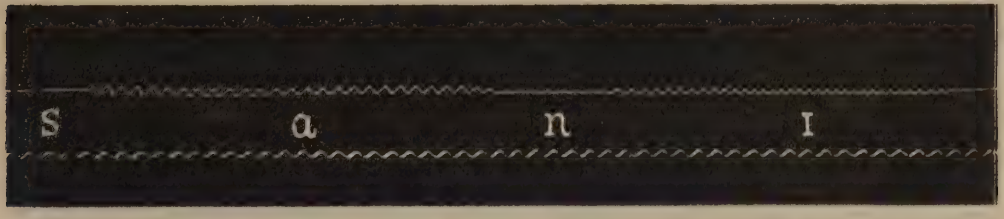
-et pp., pt. **fəit hidɪt** 'white-headed', **he·t blidɪt** 'hot-blooded', **ble·k, jɪv blekɛts** 'you've puzzled us', **hɪ blekɛt mɪ.**

With less marked and less general effect:

-ie adj. **e·se** 'ashy pale'; **mi(·)li pʌdɪnz** 'mealy puddings'; **ə stju·i ple·s** 'a dusty place'; **ʃale dɪls** 'shelly dulse'; **he:ər** : **'heremuldɪt** '(hairy)mouldy'[1]); **ə sɑ·te kjake** 'a salty cake'.

Cf. the tracings **sɑ·n** 'sand' ($^{35}/_{100}$) : **sɑnɪ** 'sandy' ($^{22}/_{100}$).





-in pres.p. **ɪts pu:rɪn, brɑ·kɛn** 'it is pouring, clearing up'; **ðə he·nz ɪz le·ɛn wi·l** 'the hens are laying well'; **tjɑ:vɪn ə'wɑ:** 'pegging away'. But with distinct reduction of the modern lengthenings of § 78ff.: **stɑ·n** 'stand', **stʌnɪn**; **lɑ·m** 'lamb' **lɑmɛn** 'lambing'; **spe·n** 'spend' **spenɪn**; **swɑ·l** 'swell' **swɑlɛn**; **se·l** 'sell' **selɛn**, and with clear extinction of the glides (§ 82): **ɪts təirɪn** 'it is tiring'; **ɪts re·nɛn** 'it is raining'; **hɪz fe:lɛn** 'he is getting old'.

§ 77. Historical Shortening. Stopping must not be identified with certain historical shortening processes, which have been going on at different times since the 10th century and which are responsible also for many short vowels in StE. They may be classified according to cause and conditions as shortening

a) before double consonants (Jordan § 23; Jesp. I 4. 3).

b) in formerly trisyllabic words (Jordan § 24).

c) sporadically before single consonants (Jordan § 27).

[1]) According to the modern speech feeling; cf. another etymology § 27.

The examples are scattered in the various paragraphs dealing with short vowels.

ǽ	> *ē* > *ĕ*	>	e	§ 36 c
á	> *ă*	>	a	§ 45 a
ǽ	> *ē* > *ĕng*	>	ɪŋ	§ 58 a
ē	> *ĕ* > *ĭht*	>	ɪçt	§ 58 d
í, ý	> *ĭ*	>	ɪ, ɨ, ʌ	§§ 59 a, 63 b, c
é *ĭ*	> *ę̄*	> i: >	ɪ	§ 59 b
ĕ	> *ę*	> i: >	ɪ, ɨ	§ 59 c
ú	> *ŭ*	> ʌ >	ɪ, ɨ	§ 60 a
ó	> *ǭ*	> i: >	ɪ, ɨ	§§ 60 c, 63 b
ú	> *ŭ*	>	ʌ	§ 62 b
ó	> *ŭ*	>	ʌ	§ 62 d

a) The first process is the most important. It resulted in pairs like fəil : fɨlθ '(de)file—filth', θi·f : θɨft 'thief—theft', tʃe·p : tʃɑp 'cheap—chap', ləik : lɨklɛ 'like—likely', θu·m : θʌmḷ 'thumb—thimble', bri·m : brʌmḷ 'broom—bramble'.

Further examples: het pt. OE. *hǽtte* 'heated', kled ON. *klǽdd-r* 'clad'; fʌtrət, fʌtlɛ § 124; strɨplɛn § 59 a, tʃʌkŋ cf. OE. *cíc(e)nu* 'chicken', fɨft OE. *fífta* 'fifth', hɨçt § 58 d, broxt § 49 b, drʌxt § 62 b, lest § 36 c, dɨst § 60 a, wʌs § 63 b, tɪnt § 59 a, bɨrz § 59 a.

st did not always cause shortening (Jordan p. 42): bri·st 'breast', ru·st 'rust', ni·st 'next'. Note hi·ld 'held'.

b) emɛrti·n 'ant' § 36 c, lɪvrɪk OE. *láwerce* 'lark', ʃepɨrd § 36 c, mʌnəndɨ § 62 d, herən § 36 c. Non-shortened: he·rɛn 'herring', i·rɪn 'errand', bʌuzɪ(m), bo·zɪ 'bosom' § 70.5, di·vḷ 'devil', bri·dɪr 'brother'.

c) words that end (and always have ended) in a single consonant may have shortening owing to lack of stress or to the position before a consonant in compounds[1]) and within the breath-group (Jordan § 27) : lʊt § 45 b, hox § 49 b,

[1]) e.g. StE. sɪk 'sick' after *sickness* < *séocness* (Jordan § 34. 3), frɛnd (= our fri·n) after *friendship* < *fréondscipe*.

slʌx § 62 b, ʃɪv, hɪz, bɪt, glɪv, tɪp § 60 a, c, krʌm OE. *crúma* 'crumb', skʌm MLG. *schūm* 'scum'.

This change is naturally very casual; hence the divergence from StE.

Shortened: hɪv 'hoof', dɪv 'do', pɪz 'peas', fɪt 'foot', sɪt (Deeside si·t) 'soot', strɪk, sɪç § 59 a. Unshortened: sik 'sick', wik, drip § 19; wit 'wet', lit 'let' pt., θrit 'threat', bri·d 'bread', di·d 'dead', ri·d 'red', li·d 'plumbum', skri·dz 'shreds', hi·d 'head', θri·d 'thread', dri·d 'dread', spri·d 'spread'; bli·d 'blood', sti·d 'stood', di·f 'deaf', gi·m 'gum', di·n 'done', ni·n 'none', gi·n 'gone', fri·n 'friend', θu·m 'thumb', suk 'suck', duk 'duck' vb., djuk 'duck', swəit 'sweat'.

Lengthening, Modern and Historical.

§ 78. e, ɑ are heard half-long before three kinds of tautosyllabic[1]) consonants, while ɪ, ɛ, ʌ never incur lengthening[2]).

1. Before the nasals *m(b), n(d), ng.*

be·n 'bend', he·n 'hen' § 34 b; grɑ·n 'grand', lɑ·m 'lamb' § 43. By analogy the words of § 45 c may be heard with ɑ·, unless of weak stress: ə fan 'ut 'I found out', hɪ wan 'he·m 'he went home'.

Note 1. There is also an historical (9th c.) process (Sievers § 124.1; Luick § 267 ff.) of lengthening before nasal + consonant. It had, at one time, taken general effect, any nasal + media affecting any vowel (Jordan § 22); only the lengthening effect of *-ng* did not last (cf. lɑŋ, StE. *long*), that of *-nd* is confined to StE. *i, u* (cf. StE. *bind, bound* but *band, bend*) and to some cases of Northern *i, u* (cf. our kəin, məin, wəin § 66 Note 3, ru·n 'round', su·n § 51 a against fɪn 'find', fʌn 'found'), that of *-mb* has survived

[1]) On a second syllable (even *-in*) being added, this modern lengthening disappears (§ 76); -e·r-, however, seems to keep the e·, being historical (?).

[2]) If kɪlt! 'kill it' sounds longer than kɪlt 'kilt' or (ðə pəips) fʌlt 'the pipe is filled', ɑ klɪmt 'I climbed' longer than short, it is due to l, m being dwelt upon longer than necessary.

in ke·m 'comb' § 27, wəim § 69.2, but not in klɪm 'climb'. The half-long quantity of modern ɑ, e cannot date back to ME. times[1]), as else they would have changed to e·, i· For ki·ŋ, pi·n, swi·m and Banffshire wi·n 'wind' sb., cf. § 21 Note 3.

The development of OE. *ende* ME. *ēnde* > e:n > (§ 30) e·ən (ðə ni:r, hɪnɪr e·ən 'the near, far end') > (§ 69.1) əin, the more common form, shows a remarkable departure from that of the other *-end* words (§ 34 b) by joining the group with historical e: (§ 30).

Note 2. To the e·n words of § 34 b two must be added which are of an entirely different origin: le·n OE. *lǽnan* 'to lend', spe·n OE. *spanan* 'to wean'[2]). We should expect them to be li·n (according to § 20), spe·ɛn (§ 28), and that is how they appear in other dialects[3]). In Buchan they have been attracted by the group of *-end* verbs, which had lost *-d* and lengthened *-ĕ-*. On the other hand OE. *lǽnan* may have stopped at le:n (§ 20 Note 1) and OE. *spanan* must have been spe:n before e:n > e·ɛn § 30. There was thus only a slight difference of quantity between words like be·n and *le:n, *spe:n. Before turning into le·ɛn, spe·ɛn they joined the *-end* group. The infinitive need not be the only point of contact; indeed the two groups first met in the past, where they completely coalesced[4]): spe·nt (§ 169). The last form[5]) to surrender was no doubt the pres.p., where the difference of structure showed up more strikingly (cf. § 90). Genuine speakers still say le·nɛn sɪlɛr 'lending money' and spe·nɛn kɑ:r 'feeding calves' but spenɪn sɪlɛr 'spending money'.

---

[1]) Note the records *speen*, *zeen*, *een* for D 1 (Ellis) and *bēn*, *spēn* for West Somerset (EDGr.; Th. Elworthy, Dial. of West Somerset p. 15).

[2]) They are unfortunately wanting in Ellis's lists.

[3]) Wright, Windhill § 70 has speən like meən 'mane'; Cowling, Hackness § 134 li·ən like mi·ən 'to mean'.

[4]) The excrescent *d* in StE. *lend* is explained by the coinciding of the two groups in the past (OED.), after which the inf. was brought into line.

[5]) In gi:z ə le·n o jɪr knəif 'give me a loan of your knife' le·n is to be considered a secondary noun after the verb rather than from OE. *lǣn*, i.e. ON. *lán* (= StE. *loan*), which, moreover, would now be *le·ɛn.

§ 79. 2. Before the liquids r, l.

e·rm	'arm'	§ 31 a, b.	he·l	'hell'	§ 34 a.
wa:r	'worse'	§ 41.	wa·l	'well'	§ 46 d.

Note 1. These changes are not all of an age. Judging by the reduction of quantity under certain circumstances (cf. § 76 end, § 41 Note) those in -l and probably that in -a:r are modern, while -e·r- looks to be historic (cf. § 31 Note 2).

Note 2. -a·l extends to Central Scotland (cf. Wilson's *twawl, wawl*), -e·l seems to be local (Wilson, C. Scotland: *sell*). The words of the following groups may be called homophonous: se·l = *sell, sale, seal* § 27; spe·l = *spell, spale* § 28; te·l = *tell, tale.*

Note 3. In the above table we have left out the OE. lengthening before *r, l* + cons. (cf. Jordan § 22 and our bju:ᵊrd § 50 b, i·l, fi:dl̩ § 19, tʃi·l § 22) and the entirely different process, embodied in cases like dri·l 'drill' (§ 21 b), the historic character of which is further proved by the i·-quality, the retention of i· in dri·lɪn (cf. § 76 end) and its wide range (cf. EDD.).

§ 80. 3. Before tautosyllabic voiced (unvoiced) stops.

la·d 'lad'; be·d 'bed'.

sla·p 'stile'; se·t[1]) 'set'.

Both processes, but specially the latter, lack regularity (cf. § 74) and should be described as tendencies rather than established facts. ʃe·d 'parting of the hair', which in § 27 was treated as an unshortened form of OE. *sceáda* (cf. OED. sub *shode*) may equally well be the shortened form (cf. StE. *shed*) lengthened; cf. the analogous pair StE. pt. *bode : bed* converging in Buchan be·d.

§ 81. The 12th c. lengthening of *a, e, o* in open syllables (Luick § 391; Jordan § 25) and the 13th c. lengthening of *i, u,* which is rare in StE. (cf. § 21 Note 1, § 60 b, Jordan §§ 26, 36. 3, 38. 3), have left ample traces in Buchan.

---

[1]) cf. baxlz ut o se·t 'old shoes out of (set) shape'.

ă- > *ā* > e:	§ 28.	*ĭ-* > *ę̄* > i:	§ 21
ĕ- > *ę̄* > i:, e:	§ 20.	*ŭ-* > *ǭ* > ɤ, ɪ	§ 60b and Note 1.
ŏ- > *ǭ* > o:	§ 47.		

Examples which are either unknown to or different from StE.: he·mz, spe·l, he: § 28; wi·l 'well', pi:r 'pear', strik, θik, klik, stik § 20; θo·l, so·l, fro:ð, lo:z § 47.1; strik, stik, kik, gri·n, spi:r, spi·l etc. § 21.

The possibility of double development in the OE. paradigm as in *wa-ter, wat-res* (MEGr. § 66; Jesp. I 4. 218) has led to the following divergencies from StE.:

Lengthened in Buchan: gre·vl̩ 'gravel' etc. §§ 28, 33; fli·mɪn *Fleming* § 20, hi·vɪ 'heavy' § 59 Note; səivn̩, ɪ'ləivn̩ § 69. 1; wi·dɪ etc. § 21.

Unlengthened in Buchan: watɛr 'water', akɛr (and a·kɛr) 'acre', fadɪr 'father', wadʒɪr 'wager', 'barfɪt 'barefoot'. mak, tak, ʃak, brak § 45, ə'neθ 'beneath'.

Glides.

§ 82. After the long vowels (except a:, cf. § 72b, d) and diphthongs final r, l, n tend to constitute a syllable of their own, thereby calling forth a glide. This glide may develop to a full-blown vowel (marked with a full-size symbol) thus creating disyllabism.

	r	*l*	*n*
o:	splo:ɛr 'jollification' (§ 47)		ro:ɛn = ro·n (§ 48)
e:	se:ᵊr 'sore' (§ 27)	he·ɛl 'hail' (§ 30b)	re·ɛn 'rain' (§ 30a)
u:	klu:ᵊr 'dint' (§ 50 ff.)	tu:əl 'towel' (§ 52)	
i:	spi:ᵊr 'ask' (§ 18 ff.)		
əi	bəiᵻr 'byre' (§ 66)		əim 'end' (§ 66 Note 3)
ʌu	fʌuᵻr 'four' (§ 70.3)	bʌuᵻl '(milk)cup'	pʌum 'pound' (§ 70)

Before r the glide is never wanting, though not much in evidence after i: and hence left unmarked throughout this book. It arises spontaneously and may be explained phonetically[1]).

[1]) Note the same process in StG. after the diphthongs: *sauer* 'sour', *Feuer* 'fire', *Leier* 'lyre' against non-diphthongized Swiss G. *sūr*, *Fūr*.

Before l the glide is confined to bʌuˑl, sʌuˑl, i.e. StE. *bowl, soul* vernacularized; cf. § 70 [1]). Otherwise the 'glide' only occurs with original disyllables; cf. § 30 b [2]).

Before n the glide is now real and regular after e:, although in some cases a historical vowel (cf. § 30 a and the difference of reˑɛn, pleˑɛn as reflected by G. *Re-gen*, Lat. *plān-us*). The exceptional əiˑn (cf. the -əin words § 66) is probably after the ancestral variant eˑɛn § 69.1; pʌun looks to be StE. *pound* Buchanized; the pp. stʌun 'stolen' against grʌun 'grown' etc. appears to be old; cf. *stowyn* in Wallace (Jordan § 292) [3]).

The best evidence of the presence of the glide is supplied by the homophony with derivatives in *-er, -ar, -in'*, stiːər 'stir' : liːər 'liar', [4]) bəiˑr 'byre' : pəiˑr 'payer', leːər = *lay-er* and *lore*; preˑɛn = *prawn, praying*; cf. also puːər 'power' : kjuːər 'cure', gʌun *gowan* : pʌun 'pound', soːənz *sowans* : roːɛn *rone* EDD. [5])

Note 2. This syllable-making tendency will be noted again after r (§§ 111, 115). Whereas there n̩ and l̩ can represent the second syllable by themselves, they need in our case a prop (§ 115 Note 1). Midway between buˑl 'ball' and tuːəl 'towel', I thought I heard pjuːl̩ 'sea-gull', but pjuˑlz egz.

---

[1]) In Buchan the sequence ʌul is not entirely unknown, cf. jʌul 'yowl'.

[2]) Original monosyllables end in -eˑl (§ 30 b), -uˑl (§§ 51, 52) -əil (§ 66).

[3]) It is surprising that oˑn (from StE.?) as in oˑn tə ðə wɪðɪr 'owing to the weather' has no glide, although an original disyllable. It proves that it is no longer associated with the pres.p. *owing*. The form moˑən besides moɪɛn (§ 1) shows that the diphthong oɪ is not firmly rooted in Buchan.

[4]) The same in G. pairs like *Mauer* 'wall' : *Bau-er* 'builder', *teuer* 'dear' : *Heu-er* 'hay-maker'. M. also shows identity between original disyllables and monosyllables (although in another way): *faur* 'four', *maur* 'mower', *kjur* 'cure', *pūr* 'power'. But Wilson has *poor* 'power', *leeur* 'liar' but again *tool* 'towel'.

[5]) M. ignores them all, even the obvious doːɛr, teˑɛl, əim, which he transcribes *dōr, tel (!), œin*. So do Grant, Ellis (but see § 30a) and Wilson. Wright, EDGr. has ne. Sc. *meən, breən, sleən* but Bch. Abd. *men, brein, slen*; *doər* but *sēr*; ne. Sc. *heəl*, but Bch. Abd. *hel*; then ne. Sc. *four* but Bch. *fauər*, but again *aur*.

Note 3. From the modern point of view all glides are treated alike, whether historical or phonetical, whether problematical or manifest: The glide is ejected on a sonant being added and in sandhi, and it is reduced in rapid speech.

Compare doːɛr : dorɛ 'small door'; puːɪr 'to pour' : puri 'a splash of water; heːnɛn[1]) 'saving'; dreˑnər 'drainer', breˑne 'brainy', reˑɛl : reˑle 'really', feːər 'fair' : feˑrle 'truly'; ə gwiˑd leˑrə egz '(a hen is) a good layer of eggs'; fʌuɪr : fʌurən twɪntɪ 'four und twenty'. Note fleːlɛn 'flailing' as against peˑlɛn 'paling', keeping up the distinction fleˑɛl : peˑl (§ 30 b); neˑlɛ 'small nail' : nele *Nellie.*

The glide is left undisturbed on -t or -z being added. ɑ heˑɛnt ɪt 'I kept it safely', wiˑl heˑɛnt[2]) 'well taken care of'; dɨnə treˑɛlt 'do not trail it', teˑɛlz 'tails', ʌuɪrt 'over it'.

Vowels in Unaccented Syllables.

§ 83. In StE. all unaccented suffix vowels appear either as ə or else as a shade varying between ɪ and e; cf. fɑːðə 'father', tɪ́kɪt 'ticket', wulmz 'woollens', fɛəlᴵ/e 'fairly', mʌndᴵ/e 'Monday'. In Buchan the range of suffix vowels is wider, probably owing to the even stress (§ 92). It extends from i past ɪ ɨ ə to e ɛ (the last symbol standing for open e). The quality is determined by the structure of the root, i.e. the radical vowel[3]) and the intervening consonant, as follows:

i ɪ u ʌu ᵉⁱ/ɑˑe	+	any cons.	i ɪ
ɨ e ɑ o ʌ	+	b d g, v ð z ʒ, l-, m-, n-, ŋ-	ɪ
		any other cons.	ɨ ɛ e

[1]) At Byth I heard trisyllabic heːənɛn.

[2]) In Burns's Cotter's Saturday Night XI *'her weel hain'd kebbuk'* the pp. *hain'd* is monosyllabic, judging by the rhythm.

[3]) Jesp. I 9.52 after examining the qualities of unstressed vowels in StE. comes to the conclusion that "there seems to be a sort of vowel-harmony, i being preferred after i in the stressed syllable".

Taking ɪ, e as the two representatives [1]), their distribution is:

		b		b		p				
-bɪ	-dɪ	-gɪ,	-r	d	ɪ,	-l	d	ɪ,	-l	t	ɪ,	-mpɪ	-ntɪ	-ŋkɪ	-nsɪ	-nʃɪ
		g		g		k				
		p								
-pe	-te	-ke,	-r	t	e,	-pme		-tne	-kŋe	-ple	-tle	-kle	-rme
		k										-rne	-rle

§ 84. This progressive assimilation affects more or less the vowel of any unaccented, second syllable [2]), not merely that of a suffix, even the original second element of a compound.

u:lit 'owl', stjupit 'stupid', podɪk 'frog', bakɛt 'ash-box', θu·zɪn 'thousand', hi·lɪn 'highland', ge·rdɪn 'garden', ge·rtɛn 'garter', flanɛn 'flannel', bʌxɛn *Buchan*, wi·dɪ 'widow'. Good illustrations are supplied by the tens of the numerals (p. 150) and the doublets: bla:ɛn—bla:vɪn 'blowing', swetɛn—swəitɪn 'sweating', or the pairs ladɪz ən lasez 'laddies and lassies', mornɛn ən i·vnɪn 'morning and evening', lusi ən me·rɛ *Lucy and Mary;* magɪ make *Maggie Mackie,* ðə kadɪz katez *the caddie's caties,* fʌzɪ *fuzzy* but fʌse lɪzɪ *fussy Lizzie.* ɑ lodɪ fə robz lote *a loadie fae Rob's lotie.*

§ 85. This phenomenon of vowel-harmony is purely phonetic and therefore not interfered with by analogy or functional and syntactical considerations, except in one case: the ending *-es* after sibilants in the plural of nouns (§ 138) and in the 3. sg. of verbs keeps ɪ irrespective of the character of the preceding syllable. This admits of a distinction between the plural of a noun and that of its diminutive.

eksɪz 'axes', lasɪz 'lasses', brʌʃɪz 'brushes'.
eksɛz 'small axes', lasɛz 'lassies', brʌʃɛz 'brushies'.

[1]) In discriminating further we are fully aware of the danger of being misled into hearing more than there is to be heard. But the reader is better served by a slight overstatement than by the meaningless ə, which we have only occasionally adopted with *-er*, where no more than a suspicion of ɪ can be heard, owing probably to the following trill drowning the timbre of the vowel.

[2]) *Day* in the names of the days of the week has ɪ; compare fredɪ *Friday* and fredɪ *Freddy.*

But note, nouns and verbs ending in a vowel obey the law: **biriz** 'he buries', **berɛz** 'berries', **hɑrɛz** '(he) harrows', **hʌrɛz** 'he hurries'; **belɛz** 'bellies', **penɛz** 'pennies'.

§ 86. So far as we could ascertain, this rule holds good throughout the North-East with the exception of the coast. The fishing people of Gamrie are known for their 'broad' **ɛ** and **ə** where inland **ɪ** and **i** are used, e.g. **kukɛn** 'cooking', **bliːzɛn** 'blazing', **tʃɑˑezən** 'choosing', **bʌdɛ** 'body'.

Note: M. § 182ff. contented himself with assessing every vowel of unaccented syllables at **ə**, allowing for an occasional **ɨ** for the ending *-ie*. From the divergent renderings collated by Ellis's authorities (*oni one, ladiz tatez, sheeryn sheeren, leevin, bigeˑnen,* to mention only a few) it may be gathered that the vowels are not all of one quality. Ellis's comments (p. 767), however, fail to elucidate the problem of diversity. Murray (p. 132ff.) speaks of obscure *ĕ* and short *ĭ* representing final vowels, but he does not remark on the regularity. Grant (§§ 193, 194) for the first time points out the double quality of *-ie* in the North-East, but he refrains from establishing a general rule[1]).

§ 87. We are now going to give illustrations of the various endings and the final syllables of certain compounds:

1. *-ie* adj., dim. : values **i ɪ ɛ e.**

dəisi 'small square', **grʌuθi** 'fertile', **wɪdɪ** 'small wood', **bɪgzɪ** 'who would fain be big', **fʌlpɪ** 'puppy', **θrɪste krɪste** 'thirsty Christina', **skrɑxe** 'hoarse', **krɑnɛ** 'little finger'.

2. *-lie* adv. **ləiklɪ** 'likely', **ʃuːrlɪ, siːrlɪ** 'surely', **feˑrle** 'truly', **brɑˑle** 'splendidly', **reˑle** 'really', **fekle** 'mostly'.

---

[1]) In his transcription of a passage from Johnny Gibb (p. 323), Grant makes use of **i ɪ ɨ ə** for suffix vowels, and he applies them, on the whole, as we should have done. He differs, however, in his rendering of the pres.p. (cf. § 87.4), in the freer use of **ə**, where we should have ventured to symbolize with **ɪ, ɛ,** finally in the following forms: **sɛdlɨ** (our **sɛˑdlɪ**), **brɪgi** (our **brɪgɪ**), **monɪ** (our **monɛ**), **ɨlkə** (our **ɨlki**), **siːrlɨ** (our **siːrlɪ**); **trɑrtɨt** (our **trɑˑedɪt**).

3. *-et* pt., pp. : values i ɪ ɛ e.

kukit 'cooked', bladɪt 'ruined', stapet 'stopped'; see below.

4. *-in'* pres.p., *-lin'* der., *lins* adv. : values (i) ɪ (ə) ɛ[1]).

kenlɪn 'kindling wood', ste·rvɪn 'suffering from cold'; wɑ:kɛn 'shrinking'; wəiklɪn 'weakling', kɪtlɛn 'kitten'; səidlɪnz 'sideward', ʌplɛnz 'upward'.

It must be admitted that i is not really heard and that even ɪ does not always come out clear. But as ɛ in unmistakable and as ə would not truly reflect the facts in a word like *cookin'* we have adopted ɪ, i.e. kukɪn. Whatever the shade of the vowel, a vowel there is, and *n* is never syllabic[2]). bɪdɪn is clearly distinguished from bɪdn̩ pp. (§ 143), mɪlkɪn from mɪlkn̩lo·f 'milk and loaf'; cf. the kymographic tracings § 143.

5. *-er* comp., agent noun etc. : values ɪ ə ɛ.

fu·lɪr 'fouler', pitɪr *Peter*, sodʒɪr 'soldier', θʌnɛr 'thunder'.

The distinction is not nearly so neat as with *-ie* or even *-in*. Grant uses the uniform transcription with ə, which has been left standing in isolated examples in this book too.

6. *-est* superlative values i ɪ e ɛ

hiçist 'highest'	bre·dɪst 'broadest'
le·çɛst 'lowest'	smɑ·ɛst 'smallest'.

7. *-less* in compounds values ɪ ə ɛ

'gwi·dlɪs 'goodless', 'pu:rlɪs 'powerless', 'ʌllɛs 'ill-less'; similarly 'elɛs *Ellis*. The distinction cannot always be made, e.g. he:vlɪ/ɛs 'reckless'.

8. *-fu'* 'full' in compounds values ɪ ɛ

'i·sfɪ 'useful' 'dri·dfɪ 'dreadful' 'ɑ:fɛ 'awful'.

In nominal compounds ɪ only was heard[3]): mu·fɪ 'mouthful', pe·lfɪ 'pailful' etc. § 180. Note ə ʃɪfl̩foko·l 'a shovelful of coal'.

---

[1]) Our renderings are not consistent throughout; an occasional ə for ɛ may be found. Grant invariably transcribes with ə.

[2]) Grant's transcriptions ðə te: səid wɪz ʃitn 'shooting' (p. 327), gɛtn 'getting' (p. 325), nidn 'needing' (p. 323) are inaccurate.

[3]) Grant (p. 21) symbolizes with u : gʌupənfu, ni:vfu for our gʌupmfɪ 'the fill of the two hands', nɪvfɪ 'handful'.

§ 88. 9. *-it* enclitic object-pronoun values i ɪ (e) ɛ

a) after single consonants:

drip it 'drain it!', had ɪt 'hold it!', stap ɛt 'stop it!'.

b) after double or treble consonants:

a ti:zt ɪt 'I unravelled it', bəilt ɪt 'boiled it', pu:rt ɪt 'poured it'. After the cons. groups m- n- ŋ-t, l-t, v- ð- z-t : ke·mt ɪt 'combed it', pra·nt ɪt 'crushed it', staŋt ɪt 'stung it', ske·lt ɪt 'spilt it', fa·lt ɪt 'folded it', ste·rvt ɪt 'killed it with cold'. After the cons. groups x- ç-t, r- f- s- θ-t : klaxt ɛt 'snatched it', dɪçt ɛt 'tidy it up!', dɪnə hʌrt ɛt 'do not hurt it', a left ɛt 'I left it', a lost ɛt 'I lost it'.

Note 1. Exceptions have been noted with the last section: fa· e·rt ɛt/ɪt 'who inherited it?', a gart ɛt/ɪt 'I made it', a stʌft ɛt/ɪt 'I stuffed it', a pa·st ɛt/ɪt 'I passed it'[1]).

And always: a se·rt ɪt 'I served it', a katʃt ɪt 'I caught it', a rakst ɪt du·n 'I reached it down'.

Note 2. After disyllabic pret. forms ɪt only is used, i.e. the vowel-harmony does not show twice; but see § 89 b.

a rʌbɪt ɪt ut 'I rubbed it out', a grɪpɛt ɪt 'I gripped it', a hakɛt ɪt 'I chopped it', kerɛt ɪt 'carried it'.

§ 89. The formative suffixes of § 87 added to disyllables, show vowel-harmony; for further examples see § 114, 145.

a) The middle syllable is eliminated (§ 114) and therefore of no consequence: stəitrɪn 'tottering', fəitnɪn 'whitening', hɪçnɛn 'heightening', tʌmlɛn 'tumbling'; pʌklɛ 'small heap', fe·mle 'family'.

b) The middle syllable remains, but it is mostly colourless.

hʌŋᵊri 'hungry', sa·sᵊrɛ 'small saucer', se·rtəntlɛ 'certainly'; wəiskəti 'small waistcoat', laməkɛ 'small lamb', takətɛ bits 'hobnailed boots'.

The derivative *-ikin* varies its first vowel only: kwitikɪnz 'spats', panɛkɪn 'small pan' (§ 145).

---

[1]) B. seems to favour ɛt whilst Y. tends towards ɪt; on a second hearing, a year later, I heard but ɪt at Y.

§ 90. Apparent Exceptions. There are forms which, at first sight, do not seem to conform with the rule.

a) hɑnɪ[1]) : mɑnɛ 'handie—mannie', benɪn : le·nɛn 'bending—loaning', grʌnɪn : wʌnɛn 'grounding—winning', hʌnɪr[2]) : θʌnɛr 'hundred—thun[d]er'.

As is indicated by the conventional spelling, the unexpected ɪ is due to *d* once preceding it. The form le·nɛn, therefore, does not represent StE. *lending* (§ 78 Note 2), whose *d* is inorganic, analogical.

Note: With words in *-ld* no effect of 'd' is felt. skɑ·lɛn 'scolding', fɑ·lɛn 'folding', ɑ·lɛr 'older'. Does this justify the inference that *d* had been assimilated to *l* (cf. M. § 167) at a very early period, i.e. before the endings began to be treated differently?

b) skɑ·lɪ 'slate pencil', be·lɪ *'baillie*, cattleman' : ʃale 'shelly', nele *Nellie*. With these two words we notice the effect of *lj* < Fr. *l* mouillé.

skɑ·lɪ, Deeside skəili < MSc. *skailʒie* OFr. *escaille*,
be·lɪ, Deeside be·lji < MSc. *bailʒie* OFr. *baillif*.

Borrows from French have their ʎ (modern Fr. j) regularly replaced by either lj (spelt *-lʒ-*) or l; cf. Jordan § 253[3]). In the latter case the vocalized j may follow as *i*, e.g. StE. *to soil—to sully*, Buchan i:li 'oil', be·lɪ, skɑ·lɪ = Swiss G. *Ēli, Bälli, Skälli* (Idiotikon I 181, IV 1155, X 8). For the rendering of Fr. *n* mouillé cf. spe·ŋi § 112 c.

c) Of the Latin borrows in *-ĭn-*, bʌke Lat. *buccinum* 'whelk', kɪtʃe 'kitchen' (§ 57 e, Grant p. 327), the latter sounded at Byth kɪtʃɪ and kɪtʃɪ.

d) The reduced vowel of the second part of a compound may disregard the harmony: 'ʌŋkə *un-couth* 'very', gəiən *gay and* 'rather', ɪlki < ɪlk i·n *each one* 'every'.

---

[1]) At Gamrie they make no difference: hɑnɛ, wɑnɛ, mɑnɛ. At Y. we noted sɑnɪ/sɑne lo·m 'sandie loam'.

[2]) So at Byth; at Y. also hʌnər.

[3]) (Swiss)G. 'bilje(t) Fr. *billet*, StE. 'bɪljəd Fr. *billard*, Swiss G. bi'le:t, StE. beɪlɪf *bailiff*; Glimpses p. 73 *skylie*.

§ 91. Of the three nasals n (< *nd*), m (< *mb*), ŋ (< *ng*), only two, i.e. n, ŋ still show the effect of the media which once followed, whilst *b* after *m* has left no trace behind.

fʌŋɪn 'flinging', spɑŋɪn on 'walking briskly', spe·ŋi (§ 34c), lɑmɛn 'lambing', ke·mɛn 'combing', klɪmɛn 'climbing' (in tʌmlɛn 'tumbling', trɪmlɛn 'trembling' b never existed). The fact that *g* has been retained in the conventional spelling (*ng* now stands for ŋ, at one time for ŋg) with a function universally recognised, cannot be made responsible, as *b* too has remained in the spelling. We may therefore infer that at the time of differentiation *d* and *g* were still sounded, while *b* had already become mute[1]); cf. the chronology § 128.

Word-Stress.

§ 92. Words of two or more syllables are stressed, in principle, as in StE. Obvious exceptions are: mə'trɑs 'mattress', e'prəil 'April', mɪs'tʃi·f 'mischief'; strə've·g cf. StE. *extravagant* 'to stroll'.

It is the Germanic way of stressing, whereby the main stress is put on the radical, i e. generally the first syllable. But in Buchan speech the relative weight of root and ending is not the same as, e.g., in StE., Northern G. or Icelandic. The first syllable predominates little, the second is heavy; disyllables are almost pronounced with level stress[2]). Compare: G. *zählen* 'tse:lᵊn, Icel. *teljum* 'tɛljʏm, StE. *telling* 'tɛlɪŋ, Buchan telɛn; G. *willens*, Icel. *viljands*, StE. *willing*, Buchan wʌlɛn; G. *so ist's besser*, Icel. *það er betur*, StE. *that's better*, Buchan ðɑts betɛr. Listen to words like (ɪts ə) skʌnɛr '(it is) disgusting',

[1]) Ellis's records *han*, *laan*, *lamb* suggest, it is true, the very reverse order. But of lamb I could find no trace anywhere.

[2]) Prefixes of French loanwords cannot have had much stress, as may be gathered from the many aphetic forms: fek *(ef-fect)*, ri·st *(ar-rest)*, mə·ɛn *(de-mesne)*, gri: *(a-gree)*, fə·nlɛs *(de-fend-less)*, ku·nts *(ac-counts)*, strə'və·g *(extravagare)*, sə:ᵊr *(de-serve)*, tɛis *(en-tice)*, tɑtɛz *(po-tatoes)*, bɑ·kə *(to-bacco)*. Cf. Swiss G. *Back* < *Tubáck* (Idiotikon Bd. IV 1105), *spektieren* < *respektieren* (Bd. X 108).

rotɛnz 'rats', **potɛtʃ** 'porridge', **amɛn** 'woman', **nivir** 'never': there is no difference of stress between the two syllables[1]). The whole theory of vowel-harmony (§ 83 ff.) is based on the fact of suffix vowels being bulky, independent and coloured enough to admit of qualitative discrimination. That there are endings without vowels (§§ 108, 115) cannot be made an argument against our contention; many endings can boast of a fully developed vowel, whereas StE. has ɻ or vocalized *r* (§§ 107, 114).

§ 93. Stress in Compounds.

As StE. itself[2]) tends to change over from falling to even stress in compounds, e.g. *'gold'coin, 'sea-'side* (but *'sea-port*) *'farm-'house* beside *'farm-house* we cannot be surprised to find even stress generalized in Buchan: **sti·n- fe·l- fan-dəik** 'a wall' made of 'stone, turf, whin'; **sprɪŋ- boks- laŋ-ke·rt** three kinds of carts.

With a slight suspicion of fore-stress (where StE. has real falling stress): **ʃakɬbi·n** 'wrist', **frŋərsti·l** 'fingerstall', **sa·ɛðbrod** 'whetstone', **dra:wa·l** 'draw-well', **bro·zka·p** *'brose-caup'*. It is **'blak'berez** (StE. ˈ,) but **'ble·,berez** 'bilberries'.

Buchan speech even shows end-stress where StE. has even stress: **gwid'bri·dɪr** 'brother-in-law', **gwid'wɛif** 'wife', **dor'sti·n** 'threshold', **ət ðə rod'səid jɪ si· ðə fe·rm'hu·s** 'at the roadside you see the farmhouse'; **ˌlu·'warm** against StE. **'lu:kwɔ:m** 'lukewarm'; invariably **kɪrk'jard** or **kɪr'kjard** against *churchyard* with shifting stress.

Note 1. A compound in contrast may be marked by end-stress: **fɪr'posts larɛk'posts** 'fir-, larch sticks'; **stre·'re·p,**

[1]) Level stress is left unmarked.

[2]) Sweet, NEGr. § 889: "The most characteristic feature of Present English stress is its great development of even stress"; similarly § 1552. Jesp., Gr. and Str. p. 176: "In recent times a new type has sprung up in which the second part is not accentually subordinated to the first, but is stressed as much as, and sometimes even more than the first component"; similarly Jesp. I 5.33.

stre·'su: 'rope, mow of straw'. When the first component acts as an intensifier, level stress is evident (as in StE.): 'dɪrt'tʃep 'very cheap', 'sti·n'blɪn 'stone-blind', 'sti·n'ka:l 'quite cold', 'blɪn'fu 'blind drunk'.

Note 2. That falling stress had been the rule at one time may be gathered from contracted forms like ʃɪrɛ 'sheriff', ʃepɪrd 'shepherd', 'kɪrtɛn *kirktoon*, the generic term, but ðə kɪrk'tu·n o ɑxtɛr'les *the kirktoon o' Auchterless.*

§ 94. Stress in Place-Names [1]).

The majority of farms are designated by compounds and accordingly pronounced with rising stress [2]): bʌrn'səid [3]) *Burnside*, kros'bre· *Crossbrae*, gʌʃət'njuk *Gushet-neuk*, bre·d'fjurd *Broadford* (cf. StE. *Bradford*), fəit'hʌlz *Whitehills;* of Gaelic origin lon'məi *Lonmay*, slɑkə'de·l *Slack-a-dale;* a hybrid ki·l'hʌl *Kielhill*. The first element, if any, is slightly reduced: st·n'hɑ·ev *Stonehaven*, kət'bʌrn *Cotburn* § 104.

Exception must be made of the genitival compounds [4]), man's name + *ton:* 'kʌʃəstən < 'kʌʃeztu·n *Cushiestone*, 'kolstən *Colstone*, 'kre·bstən *Craibstone*, 'gɪlkɪmstən *Gilcomstone*. This *-s-ton* element must be kept clear from *-ston* OE. *stán* as in gre'sti·n *Greystone*, fəit'sti·n *Whitestone*, brʌnt'sti·n *Bruntstone*.

Under the influence of the genitive compounds with *-ton*, the attributive ones too have adopted falling stress: 'jonərtən *Yonderton*, 'ɑ·ltɪn *Auldton*, 'mɪltɪn 'mill-town', 'hɑtɛn 'halfton', *Hatton* 'kɪrtɛn *Kirkton* § 93, 'nju·tɪn *Newton*.

---

[1]) This chapter does not pretend to be historic, but purely descriptive.

[2]) In English it used to be falling stress, hence the corruption and confusion of second elements (cf. ESt. 51, 25), in Gaelic, however, the first element is unstressed when the second is the qualifying term: *Auchmill*, *Auchlin*, compounds with *Kin-*, *Pit-*, *Dun-* etc.

[3]) All compounds with *-side* have end-stress: di·'səid *Deeside*, twi·d'səid *Tweedside*.

[4]) James Macdonald, Place-Names of West Aberdeenshire p. 246.

Similarly with *burgh:* ˈniˑbrɪ 'Newburgh', ˈfreˑzərz,bʌrɛ 'Fraserburgh'.

On the other hand genitive compounds may have rising stress, e.g. kiŋzˈfjurd 'Kingsford', piˑtərˈhiˑd 'Peterhead'.

§ 95. Vowel-Changes due to Word-Stress.

Change of Quality:

With those speakers that broaden out historic *i* to ɛ (§§ 14, 56) under full stress, a change to ɨ, ɪ is noticed under divided stress. In effect, this alternation, which is best felt in pair-like forms, is reminiscent of Umlaut in German.

dumm	dümmer	Loch	Löcher	Burg	Bürger	nennen	genannt
θɛn	θɨnər	dɛʃ	dɨʃɪz	kɛk	kɨkər	swɛk	swɨkɛt
'thin'	'thinner'	'dish'	'dishes'	'kick'	'kicker'	'deceive'	'deceived'

Where *-ind* final is -ɛn (§ 56) it alternates with -ɪn- medial.

ˈwɛnˈmʌl	wɪnɪn;	ˈblɛnˈdrɛft	blɪnɪn;	ˈgrɛnstiˑn	grɪnɪn
'windmill'	'winding';	'blizzard'	'blinding';	'grindstone'	'grinding'.

Note the double pronunciation ˈɛntʌlt : ɨnˈtʌlt 'into it'.

Change of Quality and Quantity:

ɑ dɨnə ˈkeˑn = ɑ ˈkɪnə 'I don't know'; dʒeˑmz 'James': ˈdʒɪmɛ 'Jimmy'; ˈwɑʃɛnˈde 'washing-day', ˈkɨrnɛnˈde 'churning-day': ˈmʌnɛndɨ 'Monday', etc.; kəin 'kind': ˈjɑləkɪn 'a yellow kind of'; ˈlɪvrɪk (< ˈleˑvrɪk) 'lark'; some shortenings of § 77 Note may be due to stress.

Note 1. In old compounds stress may have played a part: nju: 'new' : ɨ ðə ˈniˑbrɪ 'in Newburgh'; ble: 'blae, blue' : ˈblɪvɪrt 'blawort', but ˈbleˑ,bere 'blaeberry'; huˑs 'house' : elɛs 'ale-house' † except in *Ellis*; tuˑn 'town' : ˈmɨltɪn 'mill-town'; ˈfreddɨ 'Friday'; cf. also § 93 Note 2.

Note 2. The shortening effect registered for suffixes (§ 77) is also noticed in compounds: niːr 'near' : ˈnirhɑn (ðə skwiˑl) 'near the school'; iːr 'year' : ˈfern(j)ir ˈeˑts 'last year's oats'; θriː 'three' : ˈtwɑθɪ 'some'.

§ 96. Changes due to Sentence-Stress and Rhythm.

Change of quality or quantity or both:

ne·ə ˈbɛt 'not a bit' : ʃi ˈgɪd ɪr ˈhi·d ə bɪtˈkast 'she shook her head lightly'; ˈfɑ·r dɪd jɪ ˈpɛt ɛt 'where did you put it?': ˈdɪnə pɪt ɛt ˈðe·r 'don't put it there'; ðe·r sɪkˈləik 'they are much alike'; sɪk ə ˈman 'such a man'; sɛk does not occur (cf. end of § 56); uxˈɑ·e, mɪn! 'ouch ay, man!'; fan? 'when?' : fɪn ə ˈsa:m 'when I saw him'.

ɑ ˈhe: 'I have' : ə hɪnə ˈdi·nt 'I have not done it'; he·st 'haste' : ˈhɪst jɪ ˈbak! 'come back soon!' ʌl ˈgi: 'I'll give' : ˈgɪmɛ 'give me'; ɑ wɪnə ˈgjaŋ 'I won't go' : ɑ dɪdnə gɪˈdu·n 'I did not go down'; ɑ dɪnə ˈke·ər ə ˈhe·ər = ˈfɪnt ə ˈhe·ər ker ˈɑ·e! 'never a hair care I'.

§ 97. Elision and Syncopation.

The parts of a breath-group which come off worst in the ordinary flow of Buchan speech are not the endings — the few that are left are full or nearly so — but pronouns, auxiliaries and particles. It is a feature of all dialectal speech, as opposed to careful, polite book-speech that the less stressed words are reduced in bulk even to the extent of complete extinction, unless there is a heavy consonantal frame to support them.

Not all dialects lend themselves equally well to this process of elision and syncopation. It depends on the relative proportion of vowels and consonants. In (Swiss)German, owing to the preponderance of the latter, the former cannot easily be dispensed with; consonants, therefore, are shed: *Iᶜʰ biⁿ choⁿ* 'I'm come'; *laᵝ miᶜʰ slⁿ* 'leave me alone'; *wöˡmʷer gōⁿ?* 'shall we go?'; *Weʳ hetᵈaˢ ˈpundeⁿ?* 'Who has tied this?' By discarding the consonants, indicated by the raised letters, an even balance is achieved. In Buchan the consonantal frame is, if anything, lighter. The following proverbs chosen at random exhibit a pretty regular succession of vowels and consonants: dʒuk ɲ lɑt ðə dʒɑ: gɪ bɑ·e 'jouk an' lat the jaw gae bye'; kip jɪr e·ən fɪʃˈgʌts tə jɪr e·ən

si:ˈma:z 'keep your ain fishguts to your ain seamaws'; ðeˑrz əi sʌm watɛr faˑr ðə stɪrke druˑnz 'there's aye some water where the stirkie drowns'.

A language of this structure can afford to drop an occasional vowel and to allow two consonants to meet and combine : a hi:rt 'I hear it'; dɪnə lo:zt 'don't lose it'; hɪlps! 'help us!'

It must, however, be admitted that the syncopation may lead to very heavy and cumbersome groups and sequences of words, e.g. faˑ eçtst? 'whose is it?' hi wʌrkst wiˑl[1]) 'he works it well'. Johnny Gibb p. 136: ˈdaˑvɪd fɪn hiz onz ˈruˑnz lats ˈat ɪm 'D. when he is on his rounds strikes out at him'; p. 137 fats ˈðɛs thɪz binˈat 'what is this that he has been at?'.

§ 98. Syncopation takes place:

a) with an auxiliary after the subject-pronoun.

Auxiliaries	combined with	I	you	he	she	we	they	it
hɪd	'had'	aˑd, ad	jid	hid	ʃid	wid	ðeˑd	
wʌl	'will'	ʌl	jil	hil	ʃil	wil	ðeˑl	ɪtl̩
ɪz, a:r	'is, are'	am	jir	hiz	ʃiz	wir	ðeˑr	ɪts
hɪz, hɪv	'has, have'	əv	jiv	hiz	ʃiz	wiv	ðeˑv	ɪts

These contractions may be said to be the rule in ordinary conversation.

b) with the object-pronouns hɪm, hɪr, ɛt, hɪz 'us', hɪz 'his', hɪrz 'hers', when enclitic after a verb or preposition[2]).

seˑnt ˈʌuˑr 'send it over', ˈkɪlɪm 'kill him!' telz əˈbut ɪt 'tell us about it'; hi fʌlts ˈpəip 'he filled his pipe'; hi puːrt ɪt ʌurz kreˑg 'he poured it down his throat'.

oˑm	'of him'	onɪm	'on him'	forɪm	'for him'	wiˑm	'with him'
oˑt	'of it'	ont	'on it'	foˑərt	'for it'	wiˑt	'with it' ˈɛntʌlt 'into it'
oˑz	'of us'	onz	'on us'	foˑərz	'for us'	wiːz	'with us'[3]).

[1]) Similar bunches of consonants arise in German through the addition of endings: *du wirkst, hilfst, es schmerzt (-r-t-s-t).*

[2]) In Elizabethan English *it, us* were treated the same way, e.g. *I saw't, do't, for't, upon's* (cf. Jesp., Chapters on English § 151) and note StE. *let's.*

[3]) The syncopation implies stress on the preposition: ˈfats kʌm ˈoˑməˑ?; ˈfats kʌm ˈiː jɪ? but note with nouns ˈfats kʌm ə ˈdʒok? 'What has (be)come of me, you, Jack?'

it is not contracted after stops, *his* not after sibilants, of course: ˈdrɪŋkɪt ˈʌuɪr! 'drink it down!' ˈsʌpɛtˈʌp! 'sup it up!'.

c) with the relative pronoun ət, at least partly.

ˈðemətsˈpiːr 'they who are poor'; ˈhɪmətsˈdiˑnt 'he who has done it'; ˈɑːətsˈdiˑn 'all that is done'.

d) with the auxiliary heː, hɪv after the negation neˑ. The auxiliary may be drowned altogether: neˑə > nəə > nə; cf. ɑ wɪdnə biː/biˑn 'I would not be, have been'.

Examples: JG. p. 121 hut ʌmɛn jɪ wɪdnə hɪd mɛ tə pəit məˈseˑl 'you would not have had me to pay it myself'. Gl. 76 jɪ strɑk mɛ fɪrst ən ɑ wɪdə biˑn ə fiˑl tə neˑ hɑdn̩ ɑf o məˈseˑl 'I should have been a fool not to have defended myself'.

The pp. is itself a sufficient carrier of the notion of the perfect; the auxiliary is therefore missing also where it could be comfortably agglutinated.

JG. 1. jɪ biˑn (= jiv biˑn) mɑkɛn ə hɑntl̩ meˑr əˈdiː 'you have troubled far more'; fɑt ɪnfluəns kud i hɪd 'could he have had?' It is missing even without a possibility of absorption: JG. 116 bɪt ɑ wɪd not lɑtn̩ ðəm seːt 'I would not have let them say it'.

e) with ɪðɪr 'other' after neˑ, e.g. ɑ nɪvɪr hɑrd ɪt kɑːd nedɪr θɪŋ 'I never heard it called anything else'.

§ 99. The prepositions *in, on, upon, amon'* (but not *atween, abeen*) drop the *-n* before the definite article and any pronoun beginning with a consonant, *of* drops the *f*[1]), *with* the *th* in all cases (cf. contractions with obj.-pron. § 98 b).

JG. 101 ɪ mɪ bed ɑt ðɛs təim ɪ ðə mornɛn 'in my bed at this time in the morning'; məin o ˈðɑt nuː 'remember that now'; jɪ fəiːr ðə briˑd o ðə gɪrdl̩ 'you bake the oatcakes on the girdle'; ə klɑp o ðə lʌg 'a box on the ear'; hi wɪz gəi sɑːt o ðəm — on ɛm 'he was very bitter about them — him'; on sʌndɪ 'on Sunday'. JG. 96 dɪd ʃi seˑ one ʌl əˈpo mɛ 'anything bad about me?' dɪˈpeˑn jɪ əˈpont 'you can depend upon it'. JG. 130 ɑ hɪnə wʌl oˑt 'I hope it will not be so'.

---

[1]) For *o* < *of* in ME. and StE. like *o'clock* see Jesp. I 2. 534.

The Consonants.

§ 100.

m	n	ŋ;	w	l	r			
b	d	g;	v	ð	z	ʒ		j
p	t	k;	f	θ	s	ʃ	ç	x

Generally x, xʍ and r are the only consonants considered typical of Scots [1]) for the simple reason that x is no longer shared by StE., the historic *wh* (xʍ) has, at least in Southern English, been allowed to degenerate to w, and r with its strong, prolonged trill is altogether different from its frail English brother.

But there is in Buchan — and in Scots generally — another consonantal feature. It may be less striking, but by its very subtlety it adds appreciably to the characteristic acoustic impression of Scots. It is just such small deviations that often stand in the way of complete mastery of a language by an outsider. If, with some attention, it is easy for a foreigner to acquire sounds hitherto never practised, it is easier still for him to mistake a slightly different sound as known and familiar and to substitute his own, thereby constantly missing the very character of, it may be, the whole system. [2])

This 'minor' discrepancy between StE. and Scots is exhibited by the tenues p, t, k, which are devoid of aspiration, a trait so thoroughly ingrained in the language that it will linger on after idiomatic differences have long been obliterated. Since aspiration and no aspiration no longer divides the second and third row of stops, voice and intensity become the main discriminating factors.

To appreciate our general description listen to the phrase ə ˈkwɑrtroˈpʌno təˈbɑːkə 'a quarter of a pound of tobacco'.

---

[1]) Murray p. 118 says "The consonants are used with their recognized English powers", and adds special notes on *quh, ch, h, r.*

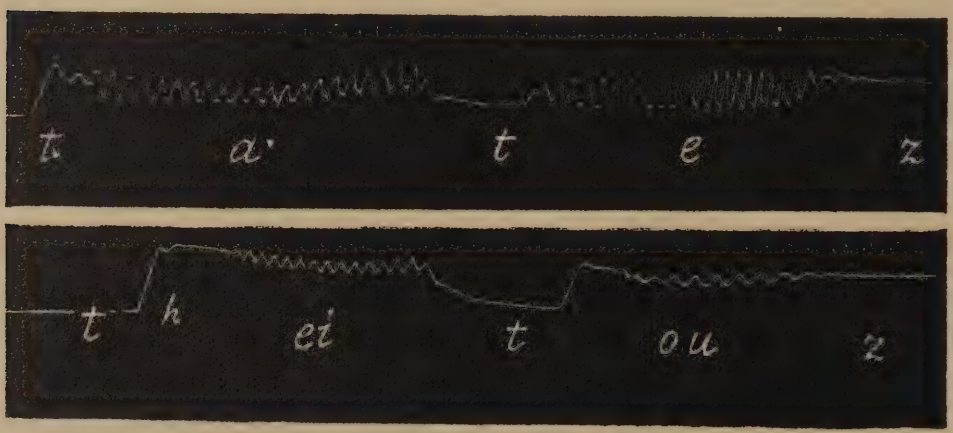
[2]) A case in point is a German who succeeds in pronouncing *th* perfectly but fails to notice the special character of English *w* or *b, d, g*

§ 101. Aspiration.

In StE. p, t, k are followed by a noticeable puff of breath (aspiration) before the vowel sets in.[1]) In Buchan this is variously reduced[2]) and may be wanting altogether, thus reaching the standard of French stops. Buchan piti 'peaty' sounds like StE. *pity* pronounced by a badly trained French speaker; kiŋ 'king' suggests French *qui* (ki). The reduction of aspiration varies according to the vowel that follows and partly with the speaker.

No aspiration at all is heard, of course, in medial position and with sp, st, sk: stepɛn 'stepping', spɪtɛn 'spitting'.

Initially before vowels the aspiration strikes the ear[3]) as increasing on the following gradation tu·n, ti·n — to·n — te·n — tʌn — tɜn — ta:n. It is however possible that the high tongue vowels show up better the clean finish of the plosive. The aspiration was noticed least with p, e.g. pʌlɛts 'pullets', and most perceptibly with k before e, ɪ, e.g. ke·n 'know', kɪtʃe 'kitchen'. For an illustration of Buchan plosives cf. the tracing ta·tez 'potatoes' with that of StE. *(po)tatoes.*



The kick of the initial *t* is almost immediately followed by waves (i.e. voice, vowel), in StE. by a horizontal straight line (i.e. breath). The medial *t* in Buchan gives hardly any kick (sign of lenisation § 104).

---

[1]) cf. Jones, Outline of English Phonetics § 112.

[2]) cf. W. Grant, The Pronunciation of English in Scotland § 197.

[3]) Only mechanical measurements can yield fully reliable results.

§ 102. Voice.

The difference between the voiced fricatives v, ð, z, ʒ and their unvoiced equivalents f, θ, s, ʃ is, generally speaking, quite obvious, particularly when emphasized by the combined effect of their surroundings. In this case the contrast is, for the hearer, not confined to, say, z : s, but it is borne by whole soundgroups like -o:zɪ : ose. Compare the two lines:

lo:zɪn 'losing' ve:zɪ 'l. vase' ri:z 'praise' dri:v 'drove'
mose 'mossy' e·se 'ashy' gis 'goose' rif 'roof'.

Final *s* that lacks the discriminating support of the preceding vowel, as in *hooses, Sirs* is difficult to assess. It is either an intermediate sound or else it begins voiced and ends unvoiced: husɪᶻ/ₛ, sɪrᶻ/ₛ [1]).

A similar intermediate quality was heard with intervocalic *f* in dɪᵛ/ɾɪts 'divots', fɪᵛ/ɾɪrt 'fevered', blɪᵛ/ɾɪrt 'blawort'. The ɪ of the first syllable points to original v (§ 56), but cf. the historic variant spelling *diffat* (OED.).

With several words both the pure voiced and unvoiced qualities have been recorded (either by us or other glossaries):

v : f in nefe : nevɪ 'nephew' [2]), beside nefjɪ.

ð : θ in sɑ·eð : sɑ·eθ 'scythe', lɑ·eð, blɑ·eð: Deeside and Wilson, Central Scotland lɑ·eθ, blɑ·eθ 'lithe, blithe', be:ð : EDGr. beθ 'both', me:ð : EDD. me·θ 'maggot', kuθi : less frequent ku:ði 'comfortable'.

z : s in twəis : twəiz 'twice', i·ns : i·nz 'once' [3]).

ʒ : ʃ in fu·ʒɪn : EDD. fu·ʃən 'strength'; Gl. p. 42. *fushion.*

Note 1. Variants like sɑ·eθ, lɑ·eθ, twəiz must be secondary, disregarding, as they do, the rule of harmony (§ 65; cf. the place-name bəiθ 'Byth'). Variants like ku:ðɪ, beθ, on the other hand, show the vowels in agreement. The doublet

---

[1]) These *s, f* have nearly the same value as in Swiss and Southern German, where, while soft, they are fully unvoiced.

[2]) There is similar vacillation in StE. (Jesp. I 6.92); cf. sɑið (D. Jones) : saɪθ as I have heard it, ˈnevju : ˈnefju (D. Jones).

[3]) cf. EDGr. *leis, leiz* 'lice'; Grant p. 331 jɪ wʌdə beθ bi·n bləiθ.

gref : gre:v has been explained differently § 36. Note the borrow from StE.: nju·zɪns 'nuisance'.

Note 2. In ʃi·l (§ 18) and ʃɪfl̩ (§ 60) 'shovel'[1]) we have two historical forms of the same word.

§ 103. Devocalisation of Fricatives.

An additional *-t* (whether inflexional or that of the enclitic *it*) causes v, ð, z, ʒ to lose their voice as they finish. If we do not get the full effect of these ft, θt, st, it is due to the vowel not changing its quality and quantity along with it: hi lɪᵛ/ft (not lɪft) tə bi ɑxte 'he lived up to 80'. dɪnɛ lo:ᶻ/s̥t 'do not lose it' and ɑ lost ɛt 'I lost it' differ first of all in the vowel quantity, then in the intensity of the spirant. Further examples:

ðə ku:z kɑ:vɪn, kɑ:ᵛ/ft 'the cow is calving, has calved'; he·ᵛ/ft 'heave it!'; ɑ hɪv ɪt ɑ: red > əft ɑ: red 'I've read it all'; ə sli·ft wəiskit 'a sleeved waistcoat'; ðɑt lɑ·eð/θt ɪt 'that made it milder'; hi ʃɪᵛ/ft 'he shoves it'; hi ke·nᶻ/st 'he knows it'; cf. Grant p. 329 plist 'pleased'.

Note: The opposite practice of voicing final fricatives when transferred to intervocalic position is not known in Buchan and voice is no means of differentiation.

wəif-iz 'little wives', kɑ·f-e 'calfie', ʃʊgɪr lofe 'sugar loafie', hus-ɪz 'houses', ðə θifi wɑ·e ət ðe luk ut 'the thievish look they have', rifɪn 'roofing', lɑθɛn 'laths' (coll.), hɑflɛn 'a halfling' farm servant boy of about 17. See also § 139.

§ 104. Lenisation[2]).

The tenues p, t, k when between vowels or before a voiced sound, tend to soften into the lenes b, d, g. This phenomenon has not been marked by script outside this paragraph, as it is more of a tendency with some speakers than a regular

---

[1]) 16th c. spelling *schwile* (P. Müller p. 96); EDGr. ʃʌfl.

[2]) This process is also recorded for other dialects (Cowling for Hackness § 364 podɪʃ, EDGr. § 283 sadəde). Note the 16th c. spelling *pewdir* 'pewter' (P. Müller p. 100).

occurrence; moreover b, d, g do not adequately render the new sounds, which, though soft, are not really voiced[1]).

podɛtʃ Fr. *potage* 'porridge', ˈɑːl ˈkludi 'Auld Clootie', ˈslɨd ɨt ˈʌp 'slit it up!', ˈkwidikɪnz 'short leggings'.

fɨdˈrodɪ 'footpath', kwidˈdʒəint, kwidˈbiːn 'ankle-bone', blɑgˈdɨst 'refuse blown off the corn by the process of winnowing', mɑgˈdʌf 'Macduff', ˈblɑgˈberez 'blackberries', ə bɨd ˈgrʌn 'a small farm', blɑgˈbʌrn 'Blackburn'[2]). The tracing for kodˈbʌrn 'Cotburn'[3]) proves that t is no plosive but only a stop, which moreover shows faint traces of voice.

When, as in the above instances, the two plosives are not homorganic and not assimilated, the first remains as a stop without explosion. Otherwise the geminated sound is apt to become single[4]), at least with standing expressions and compounds: t-d > dd > d as in sɨdˈduːn, sɨˈduːn 'sit down', pɨˈduːlzɪ 'Pitdoulsie' name of a farm; mɑˈgɨl

---

[1]) It is felt an inconvenient drawback of the alphabet of the *Association phonétique internationale* that it provides no symbols for lenes stops and fricatives; b̥, d̥ etc. mark devocalisation of the mediae and would in our case, therefore, be misleading.

[2]) Although not common to all examples above, rising stress may be of some account in bringing about lenisation (first step towards Verner's Law, applied also to stops). The same kind of lenisation but always under full stress is illustrated by Brandstetter's Law for Swiss G.: ʃtat : ˈʃtadhaltər 'Statthalter', ʃnɪt : ˈʃnɪdlaux 'Schnittlauch', groːs : ˈgrosmuətər 'Großmutter', hoːx : ˈhoxmuət 'Hochmut'; cf. R. Brandstetter, Prolegomena p. 62 f. StE. gɔzlɪŋ 'gosling', hʌzbənd 'husband' are different, showing z i.e. voiced *s* assimilated to the voiced *l, b*. Buchan and Swiss G. lenisation also takes place before unvoiced consonants: bɑgstər 'Backster, Bagster', bɨdˈkɑːst 'small cast', ˈhustör 'Haustüre'.

[3]) Is koːbʌrn < kogbʌrn < *Cock-burn* the answer to Jesp. I 7.74?

[4]) cf. StE. kʌbəd 'cup-board', blægəd 'black-guard'.

'Macgill'; but also ðə skwi·l wʌn ut si·nər nor(d)dɪd ðə de: 'school finished earlier than it did to-day'.

-dd- is not simplified in freddɪ (cf. fredɪ 'Alfred') 'Friday', which is corroborated by 16th century spellings *Fredday* (beside *Freday*), *Frydday* (beside *Friday*)[1]). What are we to make of dd? is it from *fríddæʒ* < OE. *fríg-dæʒ*?

Lenisation is less evident with fricatives; cf. kle·θ : kleð'briks 'cloth-breeches'; gales : 'galez'bʌtɛn 'brace-button'. Note, the s, though softened, is not voiced as it is e.g. in StE. 'guzbɪɪ 'gooseberry'. Compare the z in StE. 'pɪezbɪtə 'presbyter' with our 'prezbɪtrɪ 'presbytery'.

Note: The weakening of intervocalic tenues (the others are pure stops without explosion) into lenes is no doubt facilitated by the absence of aspiration. It simply means a lessening of intensity as it does with fricatives.

The lenes resulting from this process do not affect following vowels otherwise than do p, t, k : pode (not podɪ) 'small pot', tadez 'potatoes'.

w

§ 105. Articulation bilabial as in StE.

For *wr-* cf. § 123, for *wh-* § 124 ff.

w was dropped before *ō*, *ū* (cf. §§ 50, 51): u: 'wool', sux 'howl', uk 'week', su:ərd 'sword', 'ʌmɛn 'woman'; it naturally remained in twa: 'two', but it dropped before the rounded vowels in ho·st OE. *hwóstan* 'cough', sɪk < *swylc* 'such'; a'θort 'athwart'[2]).

w has developed between k, g and unrounded vowels (§ 18 Note 2, § 69. 3); so also in ə'kwant OFr. *acointier* 'acquainted', kwɪntrɪ 'country' but kəiɪr OFr. *cuer* 'choir'.

w > v between vowels: cf. § 123.

---

[1]) cf. P. Müller p. 60. EDGr. has *fredi* for Bch., Abd.; Ellis *fráide;* Wilson *Freiday* (frəide); EDD. *Friddey* for Shetl. I.

[2]) tʌumm 'twelvemonth' is from ON. *tólf-*. The relation between *Udny* and its local pronunciation wɪdnɪ is obscure.

j

§ 106. Articulation palatal as in StE.

Historic j is dropped before i as in i·l (§ 18), i·l (§ 19), i:r 'year'.; Garioch i·s for Deeside jɪsk OE. *ʒeocsian, ʒiscian* 'hiccup'.

An excrescent j frequently occurs as a glide, but, now at least, not with sufficient regularity to admit of a general phonetic or historic explanation like palatalisation of certain consonants, diphthongisation of certain vowels. The glide is found behind any consonant except r, l (for sj see Note) and again in front of any vowel except, naturally, i, ɪ. It is now especially common before u and ɑ, but rare and only in initial position before e, ɪ.

-ju for earlier *ǭ+k, x;* examples and exceptions § 50.
-ju· for earlier *ō+r;* examples and exceptions § 50 Note.
-jɑ(·) for earlier *ĕ, a, a-, ā, an,* which normally become e: (§§ 27 ff., 31, 34 c), ɑ (§ 45), ɑ: (§ 39).

mjaŋɪ[1]) (§ 34 c), tjaŋz 'tongs' (Banff te·ŋz), mjaŋ EDD. *mang* 'long for s. th.', gjaŋ 'layer of the load on the cart', gja:n 'going'; kja·k 'cake', bja·k old form for be·k 'bake' (§ 28); kjarn Gael. *carn* 'heap (of stones)', kjard 'to comb, scratch' (§ 31), kja:rd Gael. *ceard* (kja:rd̥) 'tinker'; cf. the surname *Caird* (ke·rd); jaxt JG. glossary *yaucht* for our e·çt (§ 27); njag Sc. *naig* 'old horse' (but ste·g Sc. *staig* 'a young stallion'); nja·kɛt beside ne·kɛt 'naked'; njatər EDD. *natter* 'to grumble'; tja:v EDD. *taave* (te:v) 'to toil'; snja:v, nja:v (§ 123).

j- initial[2]) jɪrd OE. *eorðe* 'earth', jɪrn (§ 58 c), jeke (p. 21 Footnote 4), joke (but cf. OE. *ʒyccan* G. *jucken*)

[1]) The Upper Deeside equivalents are: me·ŋɪ, te·ŋz, gaɛn, ke·k, be·k, ke·rd 'to comb', saɪ 'sow'; but see Note 2.

[2]) Murray p. 105 calls j before e·, e, ɪ common Scotch; on his list there are our jek(e), jɪrn, jɪrd. The form *yearth* also got into StE. (cf. Horn, NEGr. p. 70) but was always considered as barbarous; cf. Chesterfield's 'Letters to His Son' (No. 203) warning his son against the vulgarism 'yearth'.

'itchy'; joːm[1]) EDD. *oam* (§ 27 Note 2); jɑːvɪnz, jɑːvl̩ (§ 123) jɑːv at Gamrie, e.g. fɑ· jɑːvz-t, for 'who owns it?'.

Isolated examples: pjok (§ 49), çjʌu (§ 70, of which the other j-words are historical, due to shifting accent in the diphthong).

Note 1. There is assimilation of sj > ʃ (§ 117), of tj > tʃ, so as to give the variant tʃɑːv 'toil', of hj > xj, çj[2]).

Note 2. The palatalisation, at one time, had no doubt been more common still. The exceptions in § 50 are probably recent; old people on Upper Deeside have ljuk, kljuk, tjuk, ljux, bljuː[3]). JG. glossary has j-forms which I no longer heard: *yawfu'* ɑːfɛ, *yauws* EDD. *awes*, *kyeuk* kuk etc.

m n ŋ

§ 107. Articulation of the nasals as in StE.

The two points of interest are: (I) their syllabic or non-syllabic function, (II) their assimilation to neighbouring sounds.

The three nasals have cast off their respective mediae b, d, g behind them (§ 128); with their respective stops before them, on the other hand, they can form the tightest possible combination (§ 108). The nasal in this case — it is generally the orthographic and historic ending *-en, -on* — is syllabic, it constitutes the second syllable. By assimilation we get the groups pm̩, tn̩, dn̩, kŋ̩; the groups bm̩, gŋ̩ do not occur in Buchan.

The peculiarity of the Buchan dialect lies not in its having syllabic nasals generally[4]), but in its having ŋ̩, m̩ and far

---

[1]) cf. Aasen: Norweg. *ome* m. røg, lugt af noget som brænder = eim.

[2]) lj > j at Gamrie: pjuː 'plough', bjuː 'blue', bjɑːv 'blow'.

[3]) We heard pljux beside plux 'plough'.

[4]) They are common enough in other languages; cf. G. raɪtn 'reiten', noːbm 'neben.. etc.

fewer ṇ's than StE.[1]). Compare the two forms of *garden, sudden, mutton, certain:*

StE.	gɑ:dṇ	sʌdṇ	mʌtṇ	sə:tṇ
Buchan	ge·rdɪn	sʌdɪn	mʌtɛn	se·rtɛn

Similarly mɪtɛnz 'mittens', bʌtɛn 'button'; mɪdɪn 'dung-heap', bodɪm 'bottom', smedɪm 'shrewdness', fadɪm 'fathom' etc.

ṇ after d, t is confined to the pp. of str. verbs (§ 143) and to the weak verbs in *-en* (§ 144): rotṇ 'rotten' pp. adj., wəidṇ 'widen' against rotɛn[2]) 'rat', wəidɪn 'wading'.

Exceptional are lʌtṇ 'Latin', being homophonous with lʌtṇ pp. of *to let,* (Murray p. 125 notes it as *laitein,* i.e. with the ending of *gairdein,* our ge·rdɪn) and 'wɪdṇzdɪ 'Wednesday'.

§ 108. Faucal Release: pm̥, tṇ, dṇ, kŋ̊.

With a stop the oral cavity is tightly shut. The usual way of opening is at the place where the stop is made. Another, less usual way is the faucal explosion, which is effected by lowering the uvula and thus allowing the air to escape through the nasal cavity. In the former case the release is followed by a clear, open vowel, in the latter by the homorganic nasal[3]).

Faucal release occurs[4]) with the ending *-en;* its forms are

---

[1]) A strong argument in favour of level stress (§ 92); the examples added above may be said to have even stress.

[2]) Wright for Windhill has *ratn,* Reaney for Penrith ratn; Wilson, C. Scotland has but one spelling *roatun* for *rotten, rat, written.*

[3]) A stop followed by a vowel is a clear plosive, followed by a nasal it is a faucal plosive, followed by another stop it is no plosive at all but a stop in the narrower, literal sense of the word, i.e. it has no explosion.

[4]) In StE. after t, d generally (not e.g. lʌndən 'London' but mɔdn 'modern'), after k never (but see Jones: beikŋ̊ beside beik(ə)n, spouk(ə)n etc.), after p never (Jones: oup(ə)n, hæp(ə)n). In Vienna German it occurs in all cases regularly, whereby the stop may remain inarticulate: bedn 'Betten', ʃtekŋ̊ 'Stecken', la·ŋ 'lagen', (against laŋ = lang), lapm 'Lappen', gra·m 'graben'.

ɲ after t, d in the conditions stated in § 107 (end),
ɱ after p always,
ŋ after k always.

Examples: For ɲ see §§ 144, 151 ff.; oːpɲ 'open', hɪmpɲ 'hempen', lɪpɲ 'to rely upon', gaupɲ-fɪ[1]) 'the fill of the two hands'; tʃakŋ 'chicken', waːkŋ 'waken', slakŋ 'slacken', beːkŋ 'bacon', diːkŋ 'deacon', harkŋ 'harken'.

Note 1. An additional -z makes no difference to the syllabic nasal, e.g. tʃakŋz 'chickens', oːpɲz 'opens'. With an additional -t a glide n is heard, leading on to t, e.g. hi oːpᵐ/nt 'he opened it', aːev stakŋ/nt 'I've stuck it'.

Note 2. A vocalic ending added to ɱ, ɲ, ŋ, in the natural course of things takes away the syllabic character of the nasal,[2]) since there is a tendency to keep within the two syllables of the primitive. The ɱ, ɲ, ŋ can only be maintained with a certain effort, by lingering on it and making it a kind of geminata; cf. StE. iːvnɪŋ 'evening' : iː-vɲ-ɪŋ 'making even'[3]). The Buchan dialect reduces ɱ > n, ɲ > n, ŋ > n. a wɪz 'lɪpnɛn 'on jɪ 'I relied on you', fəitnɪn 'whitening', waːknɛn 'wakening'.

In sandhi the syllabic nasal may remain and create the impression of ɲn, ɱn, ŋn:

av'patnɪm 'ɛn or rather pa-tɲ-nɪm ɛn 'I've put him in'; 'fatniːn more commonly 'fa-tɲniːn 'which one'; hiz lap'maur ðə 'dɪtʃ 'he's jumped over the ditch', hiz krapɱ'nut 'he's crept out'; ə wiːl 'spokŋno'luːn[4]) 'well spoken of lad'.

---

[1]) On Deeside: gaupm.

[2]) cf. StE. laɪtn 'lighten' : laɪtnɪŋ 'lightning'; gaːdn 'garden' : gaːdnə 'gardener'; G. Gar-tn : Gertner.

[3]) cf. Jesp., Lehrbuch der Phonetik § 210; also Sievers[2], Grundzüge der Phon. p. 29/30: *die Beritten-en* = beˈrɪtnɲn.

[4]) It is not spokno (as in StE. spoukənəv) and not spokŋo (with non-syllabic posteonsonantal ŋ as in the Swabian dialect; cf. Fr. Kaufmann, Geschichte der schwäbischen Mundart § 191. 2: trikŋət 'getrocknet', kŋuok 'genug').

§ 109. Syllabic Nasal after Fricatives.

As the contact between a fricative and a nasal is much looser than the faucal combination, the ending *-en*, though without a vowel, is not assimilated and ŋ, therefore, is the only syllabic nasal; there is no xŋ, vm; cf. lɑxŋ 'laughed' pp. but ʃɑ·kŋ 'shaken', for′foxŋ 'wearied' but brokŋ 'broken'.

Examples: for *-en* pp. § 143, *-en* inchoative verbs § 144; *-en* pl. ʌusŋ 'oxen'; adj. oivŋ 'even', səivŋ 'seven', ɪ′ləivŋ 'eleven' [1]).

In nouns ŋ is the exception, not the rule: hɪvŋ 'heaven', lo·zŋ (§ 47) against fe·zɪn, pu·zɪn, fu·zɪn, θu·zɪn, dɪzɪn, kɪzɪn, rɪzɪn, sɪzɪn, se·rvɪn, bi·zɪm, bʌuzɪm, me·rtʃɛn, fɑʃɛn 'fashion'.

Note: Corresponding to § 108 Note 1 -z and -t cause no change: ɪt wɪzŋz 'it wilts', ovt hɪɋŋt 'I've raised it'. Corresponding to § 108 Note 2 it is le·ɋnɛn 'lowering' etc., ɑ wɪz fes-′nʌp or rather ′fesŋ′nʌp 'I was brought up'.

§ 110. oidɪnt 'busy' brʌudŋt 'pampered'.

The different character of the second syllables points to different formations. The latter is (like gɪzŋt from gɪzŋ) a pp. of an inchoat. vb. (no longer extant in Buchan, but recorded by EDD. and by Gregor for Banff) brʌudŋ *browden* 'to pet', probably a secondary vb. after the pp. *browden* (Jam., EDD., OED.) OE. *brozden* pp. of *brezdan* 'enamoured'. The former is, etymologically, also a pp., Icel. *îðinn*, adj. pp. of *iðja* 'to work'. The ɪ, therefore, has to be accounted for; cf. Icel. *ˈbrugðinn* : brʌudŋt = *îðinn* : *oidŋt. Our word had no relations in the Scotch vocabulary; hence it was liable to all sorts of misconceptions. In B.'s Bruce *ythan* occurs with several variant spellings: *ythen*, *ythand*, adv. *ythandly* cf. VI 327 *gif it be followit ythandly* MSE. *ythenly*, HA. *ythingly* [2]). The foreign ending *-inn*

[1]) Grant p. 331 wrongly transcribes **soivon**.

[2]) cf. B.'s Br. III 260 *etlying* for our **etlɛn** 'aiming'.

naturally suggested a pres.p. [1]) = 'working'. Whatever it was taken as, it was not felt to be a pp. and therefore had to end in -dɪn (§ 107). The inorganic -t may have originated with the adv. form *ythandly;* cf. our sadɪnt adj. from sadɪntlɪ 'suddenly' (§ 132f).

§ 111. Nasals after r.

We expect them to be consonantal — being less sonorous than r — and words like fe·rm 'farm', bɑrn 'bourne' to be monosyllables. That's what they sounded to me. Native speakers, however, profess to feel a sensation of disyllabism, i.e. of syllabic m̩, n̩.

Without deciding this, we propose to discuss on a broader basis the problem: *l m n b d g* after *r*.

Murray says (p. 125): "The *l* is as much a distinct syllable in *cur'l* as in *coral*. In *arm . . . turn* the same semivocal transition is heard though less distinctly; but in districts towards the Celtic frontier *arm* (etc.) are distinctly *airem*" and (p. 123): "In Gaelic the combinations *rm rb rg* are pronounced as if with a short *ŭ* between them," implying similar features in Scots.

Of the three stages rəl r̩l rl, rən rn̩ rn, rəm rm̩ rm, rəg — rg the first or svarabhakti stage is, according to our records for Buchan, never heard except in ho·rən əɪn 'horn end' [2]). The second or syllabic stage is invariably heard with *-rl* (§ 115) and may exist, though not noticed by me, in *-rn (rm)*. Spelling and rhythm, evidence more subtle than that provided by our ear, forces us to admit it. The Gaelic *Narunn* (disyllabic) was represented by Scots speakers by *Nairn* (an apparent monosyllable); the pronunciation ne·r-n̩ explains. Rhythm and the metre help to discriminate between stage 1, 2 on the one and 3 on the other hand, i.e. they prove the existence or non-existence of a second syllable. In the song

---

[1]) As such it may have gone the way of 'ɑ·l'fɑrənt *old-faring* 'old-fashioned'; cf. § 132i. Note on'dɪ:mənt corruption of on'dɪ:mɪs § 19.

[2]) viz. of a but-an'-ben cottage where the horn articles used to be kept.

'The carl he cam' ower the craft'
× ′|× ′ | × ′ | × ′ |

the metre (four iambi) demands kar-l̩ (karɛl is not heard); similarly in *'A hae a wad tae ploo them up an' leave them corn grun'*' we must read kor-n̩ (or *kor-ən); so also in Ch. Murray's Hamewith p. 45 *corn-yard, barn-gale* are trisyllabic kor-n̩ jard, bar-n̩ ge·l. In the song *'Doon the burn, Davie Love'* there are seven notes in the music. It is sung bar-n̩ with the musical accent on n̩[1]).

Note 1. Just as original disyllables in *(r-)el* are now pronounced rl̩ (§ 115), those in *(r-)on* are now rn̩, e.g. ərn̩ 'iron'[2]), whilst those in *-in(g), -an(d)* have retained their full ending: he·rɛn 'herring', i·rɪn 'errand'.

Note 2. The possible n̩ in original monosyllables like karn̩ kɪrn̩ korn̩ etc. has not been marked outside this paragraph, neither has m̩.

Note 3. In sandhi and before vocalic endings n̩ becomes n (cf. § 108 Note 2): tar-nɛn 'turning', but still ərn̩ 'i:r 'iron-ore'.

§ 112. Change within the nasals n > ŋ, ŋ > n, n > m.

a) through assimilation: bamf[3]) *Banff*, pamfl̩ *pinfold* ESt. 46, 64 'enclosure for cattle', hɪmp OE. *hænep* 'hemp', lɪnθ 'length', strɪnθ[4]) 'strength'; 'aŋkə etym. *un-couth*.

---

[1]) It must be pointed out, however, that *-rn* does not always count as two syllables in versification; e.g. in the following lines of the above-mentioned poem *burn* is to be read as a monosyllable: *'that dwelt on this burn-side'* (regular three foot iambic); *'quoth Mary: Love I like the burn'* (four foot iambic). But the mere possibility of making it a disyllable at the pleasure of the poet, must have some historic foundation.

[2]) So also Upper Deeside; EDGr. *eirn* but *airən* for ne. Sc.; Wilson P. *eirun*, F. *eirin, iirn, airn, eirn*. Note StE. 'aɪən, disyllabic, though *r* is gone; but it tends to become monosyllabic aɐən, with a triphthong.

[3]) cf. the (old) spellings *'The Town off Bamff', Dumbarton* (but *Dunbar*); cf. also G. gɛmf *Genf*.

[4]) These are common Scots forms; cf. EDGr., Murray p. 124.

b) spontaneous: Final -ŋ in any so-called unstressed syllable turns into -n. *-ing* of verbal nouns (not of pres.p.'s, which had *-and(e)* § 142) and other nouns: iːvnɪn 'evening', mornɛn 'morning', ʃɪlɛn 'shilling', heːrɛn 'herring'. In stressed syllables -ŋ remained: rɪŋ 'ring', kiːŋ 'king', but note əˈmon OE. *on manʒ* 'among', which is no doubt due to weak sentence stress[1]).

c) through different treatment of Fr. *n* mouillé, viz. *nʒ* > StE. *ni*, but > Buchan ŋ : ɪŋɪn 'onion', pɪŋɪn 'pinion', speːŋi Jamieson *spainyie* 'Spain'[2]); JG. əˈpɪŋɪn 'opinion'.

Note the differences from StE. : knok 'clock', flɑnɛn 'flannel', geːrtɛn 'garter'.

§ 113. Insertion (and elimination) of n, m.

The hiatus between two words of a breath-group may be filled in by a nasal[3]).

fɑt so-ɪvɪr > ˈfʌtsəmɪvɪr 'whatsoever'; ɑm nə-ɑ > ˈɑmnənə 'am not I?' (JG. 127); JG. 59 ˈmɪθnəniː 'might not he?' dɪvnənə 'don't I?'. The aspiration can serve the same purpose: wɪznə hiː = wɪznəniː 'was not he?' (JG. 226)[4]).

Between vowel and semi-vowel the expletive n may be used. At Byth: wɪznən jɪ ðeːr 'weren't you there?'; JG. 68 wʌnən jɪ tɑk 'won't you take?'; JG. 17 dɪvnɪn jɪ siː 'don't you see?'; JG. 102 kudnən wɪ get 'couldn't we get?'; also kʌdn̩ wɪ, kudnə wɪ[5]); but see § 170/1, where a grammatical reason is given.

---

[1]) Ritter, ESt. 46 p. 58 makes the ð of the definite article, which often follows responsible, but this is unlikely, since in this very position the *n* is dropped (cf. § 99).

[2]) cf. earlier Swiss G. *Spanger* now *Spanier* 'Spaniard'; see also the treatment of *l* mouillé § 90 b.

[3]) In Swiss G. also the expletive consonant is n : *bi-n-enand* 'bei einander', *bi-n-is* 'bei uns', *wie-n-er* 'wie er'; in StE. it is (organic or inorganic) r : *put you-r-umbrella-r-up.* — But note that our dialect is not at all averse to hiatus forms; cf. ə eːg 'an egg' etc. § 148 Note; § 149. 3.

[4]) cf. StE. neibəhud or (oldfashioned) neibərud for *neighbourhood.*

[5]) cf. Swiss G. *bi-n-jederen* 'bei jeder'.

Between vowel and *it* the n is kept though *it* be elided. wɪznə-ɪt > wɪznən-ɪt > wɪznənt ə pi·ti 'wasn't it a pity?' (JG. 224); ɪznənt ə me·rvl̩ 'isn't it marvellous?' (JG. 67).

For ɪn, on, ut, ɑf + o (< *of*) + t (< *it*), which makes it ɪno·t ono·t uto·t ɑfo·t when contracted, we heard at Byth 'pɪtɪt 'ɪnənt, 'onənt 'put it in, on it!' 'tɑk ɛt 'utənt, 'ɑfənt 'take it out of it, off it!'.

'mʌnɛndɪ OE. *mónandæʒ* 'Monday', wʌdɪn dri·m OE. *wódendréam* 'wild fit' show a strange survival of their medial syllables. From the latter wʌdɪn[1]) OE. *wód* 'mad' may have been abstracted. rotɛn 'rat' is from OFr. *raton*, dim. of *rat;* mɪnɪn OE. **mynwe* 'young trout, minnow' is not clear, though as old as B.'s Bruce (II 577). sɪkən ə fi·l alongside sɪk ə fi·l 'such a fool' is historical, viz. *swilk kin* 'such kind'; gəi 'gay', the adv., has a variant gəiən *gayan* 'rather', e.g. hɪz gəi(ən) ɑ:l 'he is rather old'; this is *gay an(d).*

Final n is dropped, owing to weak stress, with the prepositions *in, on, upon, amon* § 99.

n is assimilated to l in kɪl 'kiln', mʌl OE. *myln* 'mill'[2]).

r

§ 114. This is a vivid, sharp tongue-point trill (Murray p. 120) and does not, therefore, admit of very close combinations with preceding consonants (Murray p. 125). When final, in endings, the r remains distinctly non-syllabic[3]), like -n in certain cases (§ 107) but unlike -l. The sonant preceding it we found (§ 87. 5) to be of mainly two shades, ɪ and ɛ, which, however, get blurred to ə by the trill: bʊdɪr 'bother',

[1]) Morayshire *samin* (for our se·m), e.g. *jist the samin; the samin man* is often found in documents but no longer used in Buchan. Its formation is obscure but possibly due to the influence of the ON. adverb *saman* 'together' (OED.).

[2]) cf. the traditional spelling of the surname *Milne* mɪl.

[3]) In G. this *-r* is syllabic (raɪtr 'rider'), in StE. vocalized raɪdə against our rəidɪr.

θakɛr 'thatcher'. Of the additional syllables, *-in* only causes the vowel to be ejected, but not by all speakers [1]).

slaxtɛr : slaxtrɛn 'slaughtering', watrɛn 'watering', 'stəitrɪn 'staggering', 'e·drɪnz 'spools of rope', 'ble·ðrɪn 'blabbering'; wanrɪn, wɪnrɪn beside wanərɪn, wɪnərɪn 'wandering, wondering'. Before *-ie* the middle syllable remains full: 'bʌtəre 'buttery', 'fʌskəre 'small whisker', 'fɪŋərɪ 'small finger', 'hʌŋərɪ 'hungry'. Similarly with *n* : 'bʌtɛne 'small button', 'mʌtɛne 'of mutton', ə 'ʃɪlɛne 'bɪt 'a shilling piece'.

r before s is not assimilated, but less vigorously trilled, e.g. hors 'horse', kurs 'coarse', kʌrs 'curse', gɪrs 'grass'. In fe: Icel. *frá* 'from' r is dropped, owing, as is generally assumed, to weak sentence stress [2]).

Note: No trace of a svarabhakti between r and a following stop (cf. § 111) has been noted, e.g. darg 'to work as a day labourer', le·rd 'laird', hʌrb 'ill-mannered person'. larɛk 'larch' is probably a late borrow from Latin *larix* [3]); cf. OED. sub *larick* and § 147 Note 3.

l

§ 115. Articulation: The point of the tongue is and remains at the teeth-ridge, i.e. in the same position as for t, d, n. The air escapes by the side(s) of the tongue, laterally. As the back is raised at the same time, we hear a dark l, which is hollower than in StE. [4]). When raised very high we are equally ready for kl as for tl (Jesp. I 12.75); hence the interchange of spʌrt| and spʌrk| 'a stick for stirring'. It is doubtful whether front l exists at all.

---

[1]) 'stəitərɪn, 'edərɪnz etc. are occasionally heard; cf. Grant p. 325 'dɛnərən 'dining'.

[2]) South of the Grampians it has remained frɛ:.

[3]) The tree has only been recently introduced from Alpine districts.

[4]) Dark l is not known in StG. There is a marked difference between an English and a Buchan student trying to say G. *Milch, will.* The Buchanized l is more obviously wrong, being of a deep sound.

Considering the highly vocalic nature of l and its close physiological relation to other consonants and t, d, n in particular, we quite expect postconsonantal final l to be syllabic. Note, *-l* is always, *-r* never syllabic. Examples: hɪrpl̩ 'limp', etl̩ 'strive', mʌkl̩ 'much', stɪbl̩ 'stubble', mɑrdl̩ 'great lot', trɪfl̩ 'trifle', si·vl̩ 'civil', pensl̩ 'pencil', ɐizl̩ 'hot ember', bɑxl̩ 'old boot'; he·ml̩ 'homely', spɪnl̩ 'spindle', sɪŋl̩ 'single'[1]). The only exception noted is after rn: gɪrnɛl 'corn-chest'.

Even after r no vowel is heard, and yet the word is clearly disyllabic (§ 111): mɪrl̩z 'measles', orl̩z[2]) 'refuse', bɑrl̩ 'barrel', mʌrl̩ 'crumble', similarly hʌrl̩, pɪrl̩, skɪrl̩, dɪrl̩, ɑrl̩z, kɑrl̩.

Note 1. After a vowel l is normally consonantal and part of the same syllable: bɪl *Bill.* In order to make up a syllable of its own it has to resort to a vowel (see glides § 82), and yet pju·l̩z 'gulls' has a suspicion of disyllabism.

Note 2. Before a tautosyllabic vowel, l loses its syllabic nature (cf. § 108 Note 2): gʌd-lɪn 'groping for trout', pensli[3]) 'small pencil', tʌm-lɛn 'tumbling', ken-lɪrz 'firewood for lighting'. In sandhi -l̩, at least in -rl̩ nearly sounds l.

The history of postvocalic *l* varies according to position and quality, viz. whether clear (i.e. after front or palatal vowels) or dark (i.e. after back or velar vowels *a, o, u, y*).

Clear *l*: (I) . . . . . } remained
(II) between vowels }

Dark *l*: (III) final, (IV) +conson., (V) +*l* } was vocalized; cf. § 39 *al-* > *au* > ɑ:; § 51 *ul-* > *uu* > u:; § 70 *ol-* > *ou* > ʌu

---

[1]) Syllabic l is common in StE. and G., e.g. lɪtl 'little', knʸtl 'Knüttel'. Walker, Pron. Dict. 1791 describes this l as "an imperfect sound which does not do much honour to our language; it may be called a monster in grammar".

[2]) cf. StE. o:rəl 'oral', bærəl 'barrel' but Vienna dialect ko·ɐl̩ 'Karl'.

[3]) cf. StE. speʃlɪ with syllabic l, therefore trisyllabic.

(I) mi·l 'meal', məil 'mile', se·l 'sale', tʌl 'till'.
(II) fo·l 'foal', fʌl 'fill', swɑlə 'swallow' sb.
(III) smɑ: 'small'.
(IV) kɑ:k 'chalk', stut 'stout', tʌumɪn 'twelvemonth'.
(V) ɑ: 'all', pu: 'pull', rʌu 'roll'.

For the history of *-ld*, cf. § 130.

In disyllables: pupit 'pulpit', kutɪr 'ploughshare', ʃudɪr 'shoulder', bukit 'bulk-ed', sodʒɪr 'soldier'.

As the conditions (II) and (III) arose within the same inflected paradigms, e.g. OE. *hwæl*, pl. *hwalas* we should now expect side by side forms with and without *l*, e.g. xmɑ:, xme·l-z, as they survive in our smɑ: 'small' and the proper name sme·l *Smail*. Our xmɑ:l (§ 42) might be a contamination of *xmɑ:/*xme·l.

The above rule of vocalisation only refers to *l* after short vowels: bu·l Fr. *boule* 'marble', fu·l OE. *fúl* 'dirty', therefore, are no exceptions. fumərt 'pole cat' presupposes *fŭl-mearð* < **fúlmearð* (*ú* > *ŭ* in the compound); su:[1]) 'haystack', then, cannot be from ON. *súla* (as stated by M. § 142). In twɑ·l 'twelve' etc. § 46 we have clear *l* to begin with. About ɑ:l 'old' etc. see § 130.

Forms like de′vɑ:l OFr. *devaler* 'to cease', krɑ:l 'crawl', sprɑ:l 'sprawl' must be instances of (II) or else StE. borrows.

Note sɪk OE. *swylc, swilc* 'such' but ɪlk-i OE. *ilca* 'each', fʌlk OE. *hwelc* 'which'.

§ 116. Metathesis.

Transposition of sounds, i.e. of the liquids with vowels, *d, t, m* has been noted by comparison with OE. or StE.

rɪ > ɪr. gɪrdl̩ 'griddle', θɪrd OE. *þridda* 'third', dɪrl̩ cf. *thrill* OED., skɪrl̩ earlier *skrille* 'scream', gɪrnɛl cf. Fr. *grenier* 'corn-chest', jɪrn OE. *rœnnan* 'to curdle milk'[2]), jɪrnɛn 'rennet', gɪrn OE. *grennian* 'make a peevish noise',

[1]) It is simply a specialized sense of su: OE. *suʒu* 'sow'; cf. OED.
[2]) In the same sense Swiss G. *Milch rännen*; cf. Idiotikon VI 962.

gɪrs OE. *græs* 'grass'[1]), bɪrz OE. *brýsan* 'bruise, crush', bɪrsl̩ StE. *brissill* ƒ 'to roast', gɪrsl̩ 'gristle', kɪrsn̩ 'christen', kɪrste = krɪse 'Christie', bɪrst OE. *brestan* 'burst'.

rʌ > ʌr . tʌrs Fr. *trousse* 'truss'.

Vowel + r > r + vowel. θrɪste 'thirsty', brʌnt 'burnt' but cf. inf. bʌrn; trʌfs 'turf, sods', brod G. *Brett* 'board' cf. bju·ərd (§ 50); brox OE. *buruh* 'burgh', kru·dz 'curds', breçɪn OE. *beorʒham* 'horse-collar'[2]), gri·n § 21; lɪvrɪk OE. *láwerce* 'lark'.

i·l > li· . fli·d cf. OE. *fyld* 'folded up hem; head-ridge in a ploughed field'[3]).

lm > ml . fʌml̩ *whemmel* OE. **hwelman* (OED.) 'upset'.

ld > dl . fi:dl̩ 'field', wʊrdl̩ 'world'.

lt > tl . ʃi·tlən *Shetland;* cf. Gael. *Sealtainn* (ʃaltɪn), Icel. *Hjaltland* and our ʃʌltɪ, originally a Shetland —, now any small pony.

The Fricatives.

s—z, ʃ—ʒ.

§ 117. Articulation as in StE. The difference between the hiss (s) and the buzz (z) may be blurred § 102/3, but otherwise the field is divided between them as in StE., i.e. OE. *s*, which was unvoiced to begin with (Sievers § 203) has become voiced between voiced sounds. For gaɪlz ME. *galwes* 'gallows', beɪlz 'bellows' with preserved s as in pens 'pence', cf. § 138 Note 2 and Jesp. I 6. 61, II 5. 712.

Interchange between s (z) and ʃ (ʒ).

In a large number of words s has been broadened out to ʃ: ʃut (jɪr'se·l) 'suit (yourself)', ə ʃut ə kle:z 'suit of

---

[1]) Note, however, gre·zm, Byth gra·zm 'grazing'.

[2]) cf. Penrith brafm but Windhill ba:km.

[3]) This conjecture is an attempt at tracking down one of those isolated words solely recorded for Aberdeen; cf. EDD. *fleed.*

clothes', ʃu: ti: ə bʌtɛn 'sew a button on!', ʃɑ:v 'sow, saw', ʃʌnɪrz 'cinders'; gʌʃɛt 'gusset', li·ʃɪns 'licence' (*lischence* 1525; cf. P. Müller p. 105), gʌlʃɪç cf. EDD. *gulsoch* 'sweetmeat'; kriʃ 'grease', sni·ʃ 'sneeze', pɪʃ 'piss', spru·ʃ 'spruce', spʌrʃ 'smart', drʌʃ 'dross'; ri·ʃl̩ 'rustle', bi·ʃt 'beest', tuʃt 'an untidy small quantity', pp. of *touse* cf. OED. *toused* G. *(zer-)zaust*[1]), fuʃtɪt 'fusted, stale smelling'.

pu·ʒɪn 'poison', fu·ʒɪn 'strength', fe·ʒɪn 'pheasant'.

Note: Murray (p. 126) explains: "Initially, the *sh* is used for the *s* sound, in *sew, cinders* = scheuw, schunders. But in the 16th century we find also the forms *schir* 'sir', *scherve* 'serve'.... This was undoubtedly of Celtic origin; in Gaelic, *s* is always pronounced *sh* in connection with *e, i.*" The fact that any Gael. *s* when in contact with palatal vowels is ʃ (cf. our borrows ʃɑrgər < Gael. *searg* 'person of stunted growth', ʃʌltɪ cf. Gael. *Sealtainn* § 116) is not sufficient to account for the varied examples above. For Gaelic has s and ʃ, both identical with English s, ʃ, and the ʃ of cases like ʃɑ:v, spʌrʃ remains unexplained.

If we do take the Gaelic substratum[2]) to be the cause of the change, we expect it to have been spontaneous, in which case our present state of things cannot be the original one. The change, as it presents itself to-day, is not universal although it has occurred under most varied conditions.

Another explanation, however, does not seem to be available, except for initial (and medial) ʃ. An intermediate stage on the way from s > ʃ is sj[3]), a combination which can easily be adduced for Buchan (§ 106) and which could

---

[1]) According to M. § 234 ʃt often occurs for st.

[2]) The analogy as exhibited by Alpine dialects in Switzerland with regard to y (§ 61) is kept up with s > ʃ; cf. Henzen, Die Ma. v. Freiburg § 120.

[3]) cf. fʌts ðɛʃjɪr ri·dm 'what is this you're reading', setsjɪ > setʃɪ 'sets you' or the StE. way of saying ðɪʃiə 'this year'; cf. NEGr. § 217. Historically the same occurred with ʃi: < *sjē* < OE. *séo* and the pret. ʃu: (§ 159).

well account for ʃɑ:v and the ʃu-words[1]), but would it serve with ʃʌnɪrz or the *sh* in final and preconsonantal positions? In medial position Scots actually rejected the late StE. change *-su-* > *-sju-* > ʒ or *-tu-* > tju > tʃ.

mɪzɪr 'measure', plezɪr 'pleasure'; ne·tɛr 'nature', ne·trɛl 'natural', kre·tɛr 'creature', fʌrnetɛr 'furniture', lektɛr 'lecture', pɪktɛr 'picture', fɪkstɛr 'fixture', mɪkstɛr 'mixture', pɑ·stɛr 'pasture', krɪsteɛn[2]) 'christian', ventɪr 'venture'.

s : ʃ : sk.

§ 118. Apart from ʃ < s § 117, there is Buchan ʃ which regularly developed from OE. *sc*.

In the OE. combination *sc* the *c* was palatalized before any vowel (Sievers § 206, 2 b) and assibilated, probably, at an earlier date than single *c* (§ 133; cf. Bülbring § 507) so that at the end of the OE. period already *sc* must have sounded ʃ in any position and any dialect.

ʃi: 'shoe', ʃi·l 'shovel', ʃi:n 'shine', ʃi:r 'shear', ʃi:v OE. **scĭfe* 'slice', ʃit 'shoot', ʃip 'sheep', ʃɪp 'ship', ʃepɪrd 'shepherd', ʃɪv 'shove', ʃɪlɛks 'shells of ground oats', ʃɪlɛn 'shilling', ʃɪrɛ 'sheriff', ʃe·d 'parting of the hair', he·ər ʃad OE. *hær-sceard* 'hare lip', ʃɑ: 'shaw', ʃɑrn 'cow-dung', ʃɑrp 'sharp', ʃɑŋk 'knitting', ʃɑ·l 'shell', ʃɑkl̩ (bi·n) OE. *sceacul* 'wrist', ʃo:ər 'shore', ʃort 'short', ʃu:r 'shower', ʃudɪr 'shoulder', ʃru·d 'shrowd'.

Examples for final ʃ: fɪʃ 'fish', ɑʃ OE. *æsc* 'ash-tree', wɑʃ 'wash', rɑʃ OE. *resce* 'rush' sb., θrɑʃ OE. *þerscan* 'thrash', dɪʃ 'dish', fleʃ OE. *flǽsc* 'flesh'.

There are many words, more than in StE., which have retained sk. They are loanwords of

a) Scandinavian origin: skɪn ON. *skinn* 'skin', skɑ·e ON. *ský* 'sky', ski·l ON. *skil, skilja* 'skill', skəit ON. *skýta*

[1]) Whose ʃ, according to EDGr., is widespread in Scotland.

[2]) StE. both krɪstjən and krɪstʃən.

'bounce', skɑ:l cf. ON. *skáld* 'scold', ske·ð ON. *skaðe* (OE. *sceaða*) 'scathe', skɑbɪt cf. ON. **skabb-r* (OE. *sceabb*, hence *shab-by*) 'ill-looking'; skɪrp, skɪrl § 57; in final position: mɑ:sk Da. *mæske* 'to infuse tea', wɪsk ON. *visk* § 127, whence wʌsk-ɛr; fʌsk and fʌsk-ɛr § 124;

b) Romance origin: skwi·l Lat. *schōla* OE. *scól* 'school', skɑ·lɪ[1]) OFr. *escaille* 'slate pencil', skle·t OFr. *esclate* 'slate', skju:z cf. OFr. *escu* § 53, skrʌu cf. AFr. *escrowe* 'scroll', ske·m 'scheme', skʌm OFr. *escume* or MLG. *schūm* 'scum', skɑ:d OFr. *escalder* 'scald'; in final position: dɑsk ME. *deske* 'desk';

c) Gaelic origin: fʌske Gael. *uisge* (uʃkə) 'whisky';

d) uncertain origin: ske·l (ON. *skilja?*) 'to spill', skʌl 'shallow trough-like box', skʌnɛr (cf. StE. *shun?*) 'disgust', skɑ:m 'scorch, scald', skrɑ·n (cf. Mod. Icel. *skran*) 'search for rubbish', skrɪm 'cheese cloth', skɪmpɪ 'mean'.

Note 1. In a number of words Buchan has sk where StE. (partly even Scots) has ʃ. The difference is due to Scandinavian influence[2]) and, in the case of *scr-* (see OED.), to diverse internal development.

ske·ml < ON. *skemill* — OE. *sceamel* > StE. ʃæmbl 'shamble'.
mɑ:sk < Da. *mæske* — OE. **mǽscan* > StE. mæʃ 'to brew'.
skri·dz < OE. *scréade* > StE. ʃredz 'long pieces'.

There is skri·ç against StE. ʃri·k 'to screech, shriek'; skɪtɛr is the frequentative of ON. *skíta*, whilst OE. *scítan* gave ʃəit 'cacare'. In skɪlf LG. *schelf* 'shelf' against its derivative ʃɪlvɪn § 58 b and in ske·vɪ 'trick, prank' against EDD. *shavie* we seem to have analogical sk-[3]), as no Scandinavian equivalent is available. Conversely our ʃi·lɪn 'shelter', ʃɑ:ps 'husks' cannot come from ON. *skjól*, *skále* and *skálp-r* except through sound substitution.

---

[1]) Wilson, C. Scotland *skeelay*, Lowland Scots *skeelee*.

[2]) cf. the StE. doublets *shirt, skirt* or *shoot, scoot*.

[3]) Wilson, Lowland Scots *shelf, shellmun, -t*, but for C. Scotland *skelf, shellmit* (L.), *shellmint* (F.). Reaney, Penrith § 424: 18th c. forms *skelf, skelvin*.

Note 2. In skrɑt Swed. *kratta* OHG. *krazzôn* 'scratch' we have a kind of moveable *s* (cf. OED. sub *scr-* 2), unless it is due to Fr. *es-* (see examples under b).

Note 3. In some cases *sc, sk* have been reduced to **s**.

a) in initial position: sɑl OE. *sceal* 'shall', sɨd OE. *scolde* 'should';

b) in final position: bʌs Scand. *busk* 'bush', wʌs ON. *óska* OE. *wýscan* 'wish', e·s ON. *aska* OE. *asce* 'ashes', pe·s Scand. *pásk-ar* 'Easter', i·s (Garioch, but cf. Jamieson *yeisk*, Deeside jɨsk) OE. *ʒiscian* 'hiccup', des *Dess* for older *Desk*, place-name; in unstressed position: skots cf. OE. *scyttisc* 'Scots', ŋlz OE. *englisc, Inglis*, man's name.

Is this a sound change ʃ > s[1]), the inversion of s > ʃ (§ 117)? We should think so, considering that *sc* > ʃ was completed long before English came to Aberdeenshire. Moreover *s*-forms are not recorded before *sc* > ʃ. Whilst with the two native words of a) it is both difficult and immaterial to ascertain whether sk or ʃ was the starting point, since the simplification was — as with G. *sollen* — no doubt due to lack of stress (cf. Sweet, HES. § 735), the words of b) are best explained from their Scand. equivalents in *-sk* by dropping the final k (Horn, Gutt. p. 24 ff.), a process which has its parallel in st > s § 132c. With pe·s and des the *sk*-form can be traced historically, with i·s[2]) it is co-existent. With bʌs, wʌs[3]), e·s the -k may have been dropped earlier owing to the southern forms with ʃ, whilst fʌsk, dɑsk had the support of other dialects.

Note 4. For s > tʃ; ʃ > tʃ cf. § 134.

---

[1]) Our fes 'fetch' is no doubt changed from feʃ (cf. JG. *fesh*), itself a variant of fetʃ (§ 134), but our peres 'parish' may have been borrowed from French *(paroisse)* direct.

[2]) OE. *ʒiscian* should now be jɨʃ; the retention of sk may be due to Scand. substitution or to the metathetic form with ks, or to its onomatopoetic value.

[3]) *wis* 'wish' may be an early analogical form after pt. *wiste* < *wyscte;* cf. Jordan § 183 Anm.

θ—ð.

§ 119. Articulation post-dental as in StE.

In OE. this fricative (*þ*, ð) was voiceless, except in medial positions between voiced sounds (Sievers § 200); similarly in ME. (Horn, NEGr. § 195). The distribution of θ—ð in modern Buchan is the same as in StE., with the exception of θo· 'though', wɪ'θɪn 'within', wɪ'θut 'outside' and some cases of *-th* final, which after long vowels (after short vowels θ is the rule as in StE., e.g. lɪθ OE. *liþ* 'joint') have ð, e.g. fro:ð 'froth', be:ð 'both', se:ð 'saithe' and the examples of § 102 [1]). The reverse difference of our ske·θ and StE. skeið 'scathe' may be based on a relation like *bath — bathe.*

Voiced *th* (ð) has been dropped in:

mu: OE. *múþ* 'mouth', 'ʌŋkə OE. *un-cúþ* 'very', (tʌrnen) le: ON. *hlað* '(turning) lathe', wɪ OE. *wið* 'with'; bɪrn OE. *byrðen* 'burden', sɪn, səin, si·n ME. *sĭn, sīn, sēn* (cf. Luick § 377) < OE. *siððan* 'since (that time)' [2]), həin ME. *hīne* < OE. *heoðan* 'hence'; kləiz (< *kləiðz) 'clothes'.

If the loss of ð be due to a consonant (other than *r* § 120) immediately following, the final ð of the first four examples must have first been suppressed in compounds and syntactical groups, e.g. *muθ-fu 'mouthful', *ʌŋkuθ-fe·st 'very fast', *wɪð-se·ər tiθ 'because of sore teeth'.

In at OE. ðæt 'that' rel. pron., conj. (unless, since it is common Scots and even North-English, we take it to be Scand. *at;* Jordan § 204), the dem. pron. as in ɪn at hu·s 'in that house'; in (nu· ən) an '(now and) then', (ni:rɪr) ən

---

[1]) cf. Modern Icelandic θo: *þó* 'though', acc. pl. masc. bauða *báða* 'both'; on the vacilating pronunciation of *-th* in StE. and the 'lautgesetzliche' representation by ð after long vowels see Horn, NEGr. § 202.

[2]) OE. *siððan* is represented by three forms *sin, seen, syne;* some speakers use them all: sɪn ðə'stri·n 'since yesterday'; sɪn si·n more commonly than sɪn səin 'afterwards'; lʌŋ si·n 'long ago'. A fisherman from Peterhead only knew *seen;* Morayshire seems to have *syne* only.

'(nearer) than' we have the remains of a Buchan peculiarity[1]), which may have arisen under weak sentence stress.

§ 120. Interchange ð—d before -ɪr (-ɪm, -ɪn).

If we compare StE. disyllables showing medial ð, *d* with their OE. equivalents, we find that these two sounds have often changed places, e.g. faːðə OE. *fæder* 'father', bəːdn̩ OE. *byrðen* 'burden'; the same in Buchan wɪðɪr OE. *weder* 'weather', wɪdɪr OE. *weðr* 'wether'. An examination of all the Buchan words with medial ð, *d* shows that the second syllables are without exception -ɪr (*-er* § 114) and, rarely, -ɪm, -ɪn (*-om, -in'* § 107; the pp. etc. in dn̩ we need not consider). We give the -d-words first, being more numerous.

(I) fadɪr OE. *fæder* 'father', mɪdɪr OE. *módor* 'mother', hedɪr Nhb. *haddre* 'heather'.

(II) edɪr OE. *úder* 'udder', e(·)dɪr OE. *eodor* 'plaiting rope', edɪr OE. *nǽdre* 'adder', ledɪr OE. *hlǽder* 'ladder', bledɪr OE. *blǽdre* 'bladder', fodɪr OE. *fódor* 'fodder', ʃudɪr OE. *sculdor* 'shoulder'; smedɪm § 33.

(III) briːdɪr, brɪðɪr OE. *bróðor* 'brother', baðɪr 'bother', wɪdɪr OE. *weðr* 'wether', redɪr, re(·)ðɪr OE. *hraðor* 'rather'; mʌrdɪr OE. *myrðrian* 'to murder', bodɪm OE. **boþm*? ME. *boþom* (OED.) 'bottom', fadɪm OE. *fæðm* 'fathom', fɑrdɪn OE. *feorðinʒ* 'farthing', əidɪnt ON. *íðinn* 'busy'.

In (I) and (II) d is original, in (III) d has come from ð. This change is historic. Already in ME. the voiced fricative ð tends to become *d* when in contact with non-syllabic *r, m,* e.g. *brōðre, fæðme* (Jordan § 206).

The simplicity of this state of things becomes at once doubtful on adding the -ð-words.

---

[1]) Grant § 87: "In the North-East the dropping of ð in the pronominals *this, that, they, their, there* was once universal and may still be noticed in some parts and with old speakers." (cf. also Murray pp. 26, 80.) This statement does not hold for Deeside where the oldest speakers use *at* rel. pron. only.

(IV) leðɪr OE. *leðer* 'leather', feðɪr OE. *feðer* 'feather', fɪðɪr OE. *hwæðer* 'whether', ɪðɪr OE. *óðer* 'other', e·ðɪr OE. *æʒhwæðer* 'either', lɑ:ðɪr OE. *leaðor* 'lather'.

(V) wɪðɪr OE. *weder* 'weather', ðə gɪðɪr OE. *to-gædre* 'together', ge·ðɪr OE. *gaderian* 'gather', ble·ðɪr ME. *blather* ON. *blaðra* 'blather'.

In (IV) ð is original, in (V) ð has come from *d*. This change also is historic. From 1400 onward *d* between a vowel and syllabic *r* or *ər* has become ð (Jordan § 298).

Leaving aside the -dɪm, -dɪn words but comparing the -ɪr words of the two tables, we notice two opposing movements (III and V) under circumstances which are not clearly different. This suggests a period of neutrality or indifference, when d and ð before *-er* were almost interchangeable, which would mean that the forms of (I), (II) and (IV) are not the direct descendants from OE. The literary records actually point to such conditions; cf. the promiscuous spellings in the 16th century Aberdeen documents (P. Müller p. 101 *father, fa(i)der* etc.). This fact might well be interpreted by assuming conditions somewhat the same as to-day: it is at times difficult to decide whether ð or d was heard. The mediae in Buchan are of a very light touch and what is heard is often a compromise form, half-stop and half-spirant. The above division is based on our first records; but all the words of (IV) and (V) are to be heard also with d except lɑ:ðɪr 'lather'. It is therefore not surprising to find Ellis's authorities at variance with us and each other: they have *ledər*, but *wədhər* 'weather' and many more *dh*'s (ð) where we noted d.

B.'s Bruce knows but one spelling, that with *d, (dd) fadyr* I 291, *weddir* 'weather' III 387 etc. (Murray p. 121). Is this a conventional spelling for the nondescript sound or does it stand for a general stop? Whether we start from a neutral ð/*d* or a *d* stage, there was, at the beginning of MnE. a tendency towards ð, which varied in force and effect according to the district (for StE. see Jesp. I 7. 23): In

Yorkshire it ended in a wholesale refraction[1]), the Southern Counties of Scotland (Murray p. 121) have many ð-forms beyond those of StE. Wilson, Central Scotland, notes but one form all through, viz. *dh* (ð). The present conditions of Buchan as reflected in the two tables above are therefore rather exceptional.

Note: The change *d* > ð is supposed to be due to *r* following close on to *d* as ɻ[2]). It should be noticed that, now at least, the r is never syllabic and always separated from d, ð by ɪ. The change ð > d in the last two examples of (III) seems to demand an intermediate form with ðn to give dn (Horn, NEGr. p. 157). But the process *-ðin* > *-ðn* > *-dn* > *-din* is in itself not likely (least with the ending of the pres.p.) and is refuted by the spellings *ything, ythand* (§ 110). Moreover ð > *d* occurs where there is no *n:* stʌdɪ ON. *steði* 'stithy' and smɪdɪ OE. *smiððe* ON. *smiðja* 'smithy' (both Scand. borrows, as is proved by their disyllabism), kle·d ON. *klæða* 'to clothe', sled ON. *sleði* 'sledge', kud OE. *cúðe* 'could', sno·d ON. *snoðinn* 'tidy'. We may infer that intervocalic ð became *d* by falling in with the -ɪr words[3]).

The d in the genuine form di·d OE. *déaþ* 'death', § 20 Note 1 must be left unaccounted for, unless it be analogical after *dedli* (Jordan § 207 Anm. 3). Also for jɜrd[4]) OE. *eorðe* 'earth' no historical reason is available; but note that fumərt (§ 132 i) also presupposes *-rð* > *-rd.*

---

[1]) Wright, The Dialect of Windhill § 297: "intervocalic *d* followed by *r* in the next syllable has become ð".

[2]) Jesp. I 7. 23 puts it *dr* > ðr; cf. M. § 222 and Ritter, ESt. 46, 59.

[3]) Jordan § 200 Anm. 4 considers ð of StE. *stithy* borrowed from ON., as he expects *d* (< Teutonic ð) as the genuine form. For the reason stated above, our stʌdɪ must not be identified with this. Phonetically speaking we should rather expect intervocalic *d* > ð by loosening the contact; cf. Lat. *fide(m)*, OFr. *feith* (ð), StE. *faith.*

[4]) Aberdeen Records (P. Müller p. 103) 1536 have the variant *erd.* OED.: "in the early ME. period graphically coincident with those of *erd* OE. *eard* and in some phrases the two words seem to have been confused".

ç—x; h.

§ 121. The articulation of *ch* is either palatal or velar, according to the preceding vowel (Murray p. 118). The English habit of describing a sound by referring indifferently to '*ch* as in Scotch' is inaccurate. There is an -içi and an -oxe sound[1]). Although the back and the front variety are not so wide apart as the '*ich*' and '*ach*' sounds in StG., different symbols are still justified[2]). After i, e, we use the palatal ç, after ɑ, o, ʌ, u the velar x. After the neutral ɪ we use ç, although we are aware that it sounds perhaps nearer x than ç; cf. hiç 'high' : hɪçt 'height'.

The breath h is articulated as in StE.

The three sounds ç, x and h are treated together because of their common OE. source, the letter *h*. The OE. letter *h* was pronounced:

a) in final position in a syllable and in *-ht* as it is now: ç, x. OE. *-h* = (I) Germanic *h* (x) and (II) OE. *-ȝ* mostly final after long velar vowels, *r, l;* cf. Sievers § 214, 1. In StE. it has been vocalized or turned into f. Examples:

(I) lɑx OE. (Anglian) *hlahhan* 'laugh', tjux OE. *tóh* 'tough', hjux 'cliff', hox 'leg' both from OE. *hóh;* rɪçt OE. *reht* 'right'; boxt OE. *bohte* 'bought'; floxt(ɛt) OE. **flohta* cf. StE. *flight* 'state of agitation'.

(II) ɪn'jux OE. *ȝe-nóȝ, -h* 'enough' but ɪ'nʌu OE. *ȝe-nóȝa* cf. §§ 70. 3, 131; plux OE. *plóh* 'plough', trox OE. *troȝ, -h* 'trough', rox OE. *rúȝ, -h* 'rough', brox OE. *burȝ, -h* 'burgh', sux OE. *swóȝan* 'sough', breçɪn OE. *beorȝ-ham* 'horse-collar', driç ON. *drjúg-r* 'tedious', le·ç ON. *lág-r* 'low', drʌxt OE. *drúȝað* 'drought'.

---

[1]) cf. the saying *He saidna ichi nor oche aboot it* hi sedne i·çi nor oxe e'but ɪt 'he said nothing at all'.

[2]) Wilson, Central Scotland, uses but one symbol *kh* ("the sound of the German *ch* in *Nacht*") for both ç and x. Grant § 108 recognises ç after *i, e* only.

b) in medial position before any consonant: ç, x.

Except before *-t* these ç, x have been lost at one time or other: hi·lɪn 'Highland', but hiç 'high' and, by analogy, hiçɪr (§ 148) against OE. *hérra* < *héahra;* ni·pər OE. *néhʒebúr* 'neighbour', ni·st OE. *néhst* 'next', hifɪr § 20, etl̩ § 35.

An alternative development of *hs* > s is *hs* > ks, e.g. saks 'six', oksteɾ cf. OE. *óhsta* 'armpit'[1]).

c) in initial position: h.

This h has remained before vowels, e.g. hiç OE. *héah* 'high', haːx OE. *halh 'haugh'* § 39c; but when j comes as a glide between, it sounds like ç, e.g. çjuk OE. *hóc* 'hook', çjux, hjux OE. *hóh* 'cliff', çjʌu ME. *howe* 'hoe'[2]).

It has been mute in front of consonants since 1000 A.D. (Jordan § 195): rʌŋ OE. *hrunʒ* 'rung' § 62a; red § 55a, lʌup ON. *hlaupa* 'leap', nɪv OE. *hnefi* 'fist'[3]). For *hw-* see § 124.

Note 1. The *ch* in slʌx (§ 62) and sɪç 'sigh' does not allow direct derivation from OLG. *slûk* (G. *Schlauch*) and OE. *sícan.* For the former cf. Falk-Torp; the latter may be a back formation of *sihte* the weak pt. of *sícan* (OED.). The variants fleç, fleː 'flea' probably continue OE. *fléah, fléa* respectively.

Note 2. Another source are the Gaelic borrows (?) in *-ach*: fjuiç 'poor crop', burɪç 'group (of persons)', fuʃɪç 'rough bundle', griˑʃɪç 'big fire', konəx 'to ruin', ablәx 'insignificant person' etc.

Note 3. In two cases *ht* > θ : doˑθər OE. *dohtor* 'daughter', mɪθ OE. *mihte* 'might'.

Note 4. There is neither 'dropping' nor 'adding' of h in Buchan[4]). Only in unstressed syllables, e.g. ɪm, ɪr *him, her,* ɪmˈseˑl, ɪrˈseˑl *himself, herself* the breath may disappear.

[1]) The change *hs* > *ks*, *x* is OE.; cf. Sievers § 221.2; cf. StE. *ox.*

[2]) Note the StE. variants (Jones): ˈçuːmən, çuːdʒ etc. for *human, huge* where ç stands for hj, not, as in Buchan, for h only.

[3]) In Mod. Icelandic this *h-* has survived as h, e.g. *hnefi* = hn̥ɛːvɪ. There is in Scots (cf. EDD. sub *neive*) the variant form *kneeve*, Buchan knɪv, from which, by some, kniːvlɪk (§ 132d) is supposed to be derived (cf. Grant p. 89 "what the *nieve* or *kneeve* can hold"). The change *hn-* > *kn* would, however, be unique. Might not *kneeve* be evolved from *kneevlick*?

[4]) On Deeside the word for *owl* is hulɪt with prothetic h.

f—v.

§ 122. Articulation labio-dental as in StE., whether common Scots *f, v* or local f < *wh* § 124[1]). On the difference of voice cf. § 102/3.

OE. *f* (= Germanic *f* and *ƀ*) stands for both f and v, viz. for v in medial position except in the voiceless combinations *ff, ft, fs* (Sievers § 192.2). OE. *f* final was voiceless. In inflected forms it therefore interchanged with v, e.g. *wíf* (f) : *wífes* (v). In generalising one or the other, Buchan, as a rule, went the way of StE., e.g. knəif 'knife', fɑ·ev 'five'. Exceptions are gref OE. nom. sg. *ʒræf* 'grave', hɪv cf. OE. gen. sg. *hófes* 'hoof'; ʃɪfl[2]) OE. *scofl* for the regular ʃi·l 'shovel'. OE. *f* initial was and has remained voiceless, e.g. fi: OE. *feoh* 'fee', fli: OE. *fléoʒe* 'a fly'.

v (i.e. OE. *f* voiced; in cases like OE. *self, sealf, twelf* we must start from their inflected forms) has been dropped in various positions (Luick § 428), but without regularity:

Finally after vowels: gi: 'give', ge: 'gave', he: 'have', rɪ'pri: 'reprove', ʃɪrɛ 'sheriff', o, ə 'of'; but ni·n ə'vɑ: 'none at all', lɪv 'live', le:v *'lave*, the rest', gri:v *'grieve'*. With lengthening of back vowels: du: 'dove', lu: modern lʌv 'love', brɑ: 'brave', (əintmɪnt) sɑ: OE. *sealf* 'ointment'.

Medially before (syllabic) *l, n, m, r, d, s:*

di·l 'devil', ge·l ON. *gafl* 'gable', ʃi·l 'shovel', hi·lɪ *'hoolie'* § 18; but modern di:vl 'a shoemaker's last', di:vlɪk 'little devil'. gɪn *given* 'if', gi·n 'given', hi·n pp. *haven* 'had', ə'bi·n 'above', imɪst OE. *ufemest* § 18, i·n OE. *æfen* as in ðə'stri·n *yester even* 'yesterday (evening)' or

[1]) Ellis's surmise (p. 833) that f (< *wh*) may be bilabial i.e. without the action of the teeth, has no foundation to-day.

[2]) EDGr. records it also for n. Lancashire (ʃufl), Westmoreland (ʃəfl), Isle of Man (ʃufl). This f/v alternance reminds us of f/b in the G. doublets *schieben, Schaufel*, OHG. *scûfla : scûbla*, MHG. *swëfel : swëbel*, Swiss G. *sufer : süber* (cf. Wilmanns I § 79). The intensifying influence of *l* (cf. Idg. Forschungen XIV 258 ff.) on OE. *f* is not, however, known (cf. Sievers § 228).

hɑlɛ'i·n 'Hallow-een', ə'nent OE. *on efn* 'beside'; əi'nu: '(even), just now', 'blɑ:n'fɪʃ (Gamrie blɑ:vn̩ fɛʃ) 'wind dried fish'; but səivn̩ 'seven', əivn̩ 'even', hɪvn̩ 'heaven', and also əiv'nu: 'just now', ət i:vn̩ 'at even'.

'tʌumɪn ON. *tólfmánuðr* 'twelvemonth'. kɑ:r OE. *cealfru* 'calves', ʌuɪr 'over', '(ʌl)'fɑ:rt '(ill) favour-ed', sɑ:rlɛs 'savour-less'. bit OE *behófde* 'behoved', hi·d cf. OE. gen. *héafdes* 'head', hɪd OE. *hæfde* 'had', ledɪ OE. *hlǽf-dīʒe* 'lady'. i·zɪn OE. *efesunʒ* 'eaves'.

After *l, r:* twɑ·l 'twelve', se·l 'self', de·l 'delve', sɪlɛr 'silver'; se:r 'serve', e.g. wʌl ðɑt se:r? 'will that serve?', ðe·l get ðe·r se·rɛn 'they will get what will serve, enough', he·rst 'harvest', fʌrl ON. *hvirfla* 'whirl'; but se·rvɪn 'servant'.

v has been added epenthetically in dɪv, krɪv, rɪv § 60 c; but see § 170.

v < ð in the place-name sti·n'hɑ·ev *Stonehaven;* cf. § 69. 4 at the end.

f < þ in 'fi·rzdɪ 'Thursday'[1]), on record already in 16th c. (P. Müller p. 104).

§ 123. (f) v : w.

The boundary line between the labiodental fricatives and (labiodental *ν* or) bilabial w is well known to be fluctuating. In the history as well as in the present state of Germanic dialects one variety may pass into the other. In German and in Scandinavian, *w* has passed into *ν*, v in the 13th century[2]). In Modern English we talk about the vulgar confusion between *v* and *w*, e.g *wulgar* (first mentioned towards the end of the 18th century; cf. Jesp. I 13. 8; Cowling § 359).

[1]) Formerly also D 35 (Ellis V 745); f < þ and v < ð used to be common in Windhill (Wright § 306) and many other English dialects (Horn, Gutt. p. 91 ff.). This change from (inter)dental to labio-dental fricative is very slight and the acoustic difference very small; cf. Jespersen, Elementarbuch der Phonetik § 3. 5.

[2]) Paul[12], Mhd. Gr. § 6. 11; Steller, Abriß der afries. Gr. § 27; Noreen, Aisl. Gr. § 242; cf. G. vasər, South G. ναsər, Icel. vahtn 'water', Icel. vinna 'win, earn'.

It is a case of w > ʋ > v (> f), i.e. from a momentary and almost frictionless to a continuous sound with increasing friction towards v, f and vice versa. If we find in Buchan v < *w* it may be put on a level with the G., Scand. change, unless we prefer to consider it the direct influence of those dialects (Jordan § 163). The change *w* > v is confined

(I) to initial *w* + *r*: vrɪçt 'wright, joiner', vroxt 'wrought', vrɑŋ 'wrong', vrɪŋ 'wring', vrit 'writ', vrɑtʃ 'wretch', vrɑpɛr 'wrapper', vre: *Wrae* a farm near Turriff;

(II) to the (formerly intervocalic) position after ɑ: (§ 39): tjɑ:v OE. *tawian*[1]) 'toil', blɑ:vɪn 'blowing, boasting' against blɑ:ɛn 'blowing (of the wind)', ʃɑ:vɪn 'sowing, sawing', snjɑ:vɪn 'snowing', jɑ:vɪnz ME. *awene* 'awns, husks', jɑ:vl̩ 'awal, second year crop', njɑ:v 'gnaw with pain', Gamrie jɑ:v ME. *āwen* 'to owe', lɑ:vjər † 'lawyer'; blɪvɪrt < *blá* + *wyrt* 'blawort'; similarly lɪvrɪk OE. *láwerce* 'lark'.

Note: The f of § 124 ff. presupposes an historic change *hw* < *w*[2]) in *hwip, hwisky, hwisk, hwisker;* cf. § 125 and end of § 127.

§ 124. Labio-velar *hw* (xʍ).

This consonant group was taken over from primitive Germanic into the various dialects, where it started shifting in different directions.

In German	it has changed to	ʋ, v	spelt	*w*	*was*
In Icelandic	it has moved towards	kʍ	spelt	*hv*	*hvað*
In StEnglish	it has moved towards	w	spelt	*wh*	*what*
In Scots	it has remained	xʍ	spelt	*quh*	*quhat*
In Buchan	it has changed to	f	spelt	*quh, f*	*fat*

The change *hw* > f has been recorded in the following words:

---

[1]) OE. *tawian* (cf. OED., EDD. *tew*) might have been contaminated with the Norse vb. *tava* (cf. OED. sub *tave*). Our tjɑ:v could well be the latter (cf. EDD. *tave* and § 106).

[2]) *w* > *wh* has been quite common in StE.; cf. OED. under *wh*.

fɑ:	fɑt	fu:[1])	fɑ:r	fɪn	frðɪr
hwá	*hwæt*	*hwý*	*hwǽr*	*hwonne*	*hwæðer*
who	what	how	where	when	whether

fʌlk	fʌlp	fʌn	fɑ·e	fəil	fəit
hwelc	*hwelp*	*hven* (Swed.)	*hwǽʒ*	*hwíl*	*hwít*
which	whelp	whin	whey	while	white

fʌsl̩	fʌml̩[2])	fʌrl̩	fəit	fʌtl[3])
hwistlian	**hwelman*	*hvirfla* ON.	*þwítan*	*þwittle* ME.
whistle	upset	whirl	cut	whittle

fɑŋ	fʌsk	fʌp	fʌske	fʌtrɛt
þwang	*viska* Scn.	*wippen* ME.	*uisge* Gael.	*hwít ræt*
chunk	whisk	whip	whisky	weasel

fəitɪn	fəitn̩	fʌtlɛ	fʌskɛt	fʌskɛr
whiting	whiten	whitlow	whiskie	whisker

The pronominal words (except fu:, which in non-Buchan dialects may also be hu:) are also heard South of the Dee, as far as the Tay whilst the others are confined to the North-East[4]). But as things are to-day, not all non-pronominal *wh*-words begin with f. The genuine fʌp 'whip' is going out of use — with the object? —, and xʌip (§ 21 Note 2)

---

[1]) Considering the fact that fu: stands for both StE. *how* and *why* (e.g. fu: dɪd jɪ kʌm 'how/why did you come?') we might feel tempted to look upon it as a contaminated form of OE. *hwý*/*hú*, why/how, *fɑ·e/hu:, but outside Buchan hu: also is used in this double function and *hwū* is also found in ME. (Jordan § 195 Anm.) without usurping the function of *why*. It is therefore best explained as an analogical form after the functional group of the *wh-* interrogatives, to which *hú* (< **hwó*) had once belonged (O. Ritter, ESt. 46. 30; Horn, NEGr. § 177). This may have been furthered by the adopted meaning and function 'why'.

[2]) This is homophonous with fʌml 'fumble' : fʌml ʌuɪr ðə bro·zkɑ·p and fʌml wɪ ðə snek o ðə do·ɛr.

[3]) On Upper Deeside (and in other parts of the North-East) fʌtl or fɪtl may stand for our fetl 'fettle' as a vb. = 'to get ready'. This leads to curious semantic coalescence and confusion: *you* fʌtl *a stick* 'cut (or prepare?) a stick' and *masons get their tools* fʌtlt 'put right again'.

[4]) On Upper Deeside *fite, fusky, fusker, fang* etc. are never heard.

is taking its place. It has remained, however, in fʌps ə wɪn 'whips, gushes of wind', fʌp ðə kɑt 'a(n itinerant) tailor'. The colour adj. fəit 'white' is still firm in derivatives and compounds, e.g. fəit'hʌlz 'Whitehills' near Banff, but it probably never existed in *Whitsunday*, which is 'wʌtsn̩dɪ [1]). fəit 'wheat', still recorded by Ellis, has disappeared with the grain, if that was ever grown in Buchan. They now refer to it as xʍi·t, the StScots form. For *whale, whaup* 'curlew' everybody now says xʍɑ:l, xʍɑ·p, but old people can remember their grandfathers speak of fɑ:lz [2]). May we suppose the f-form to have been universal at one time and words with xʍ- to be re-formed or borrowed? cf. also (StE.?) xʍɑk (an alteration of *thwack?* OED.) 'whack, thrash', xʍi·pl̩ 'whistle', xʍi:zl̩ 'wheezle', xʍɪr 'whirr', xʍɪspɛr 'whisper', xʍɪlk 'whelk', xʍi·ndʒ 'whine'; ɑ kɪnə oxt nor xʍɑt ə'but ɪt 'I know nothing about it'.

Apart from the pronouns, f is followed either by ʌ or əi (ɑ·e), once by ɑ. This need not surprise us: *u, o* after xʍ are historically unlikely; ɪ, ɨ, ɛ become ʌ (§ 63); i:, e: develop into əi (ɑ·e) (§§ 68. 5. 6, 69). The vowel, we may infer, owes its quality to the *w*, the basis of f : xʍʌ, xʍəi > fʌ, fəi. Strange to say xʍi·l 'wheel', a household word, has never been known to be fi·l nor, as we should expect, fəil; Wright, EDGr. § 240 wrongly includes it.

§ 125. As an independent phenomenon of which no intermediate stages are known, the process xʍ > f would be taken to have gone on the lines suggested by Murray (p. 119): labialized guttural > gutturalized labial > pure

---

[1]) In the 16th c. Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire it is invariably *Witso(u)nday* against *qwh, quh, qw, qu* in other words (P. Müller p. 115). The first two elements have been analysed and welded together to an isolated element wʌtsn, which is no longer associated with *white;* cf. the spelling variants in OED. But Wilson, C. Scotland has, in our script, xʍʌsʌndə.

[2]) fɑ:l 'whale' seems to linger on along the Banffshire coast.

[bi]labial > divided labial [1]). No evidence of the antecedent bi-labial f, however, has as yet been offered [2]). ME. *wippen* > fʌp, ON. *visk* > fʌsk etc. is no proof; for f has come from the subsequent variant *hwippen* etc., else we should expect many more *w* > f. In unvoicing *w* the labio-velar *wh* arose and xʍ must be our starting point.

There are more serious objections with regard to the first two steps xʷ > xʍ > ʍ. To suppose the second element to be overemphasized at the cost and loss of the first, does not tally with the usual treatment of *wh* in Scotland.

Compare *wh* in (I) Yorkshire, (II) S. Scotland and (III) Buchan:

(I)	wɪn 'whin'	wi·ə 'who'	wɑt 'what'	: voiced *w*
(II)	*kwhᴇ'il* 'while'	*kwhətj* 'which' (Ellis V 722)		: strong *x*
(III)	xʍi·l 'wheel'	xʍɪst 'whist'		: strong *x*

Scottish English generally tends to emphasize the first element [3]). In the face of this fact it sounds strange that in this North-Eastern corner the tendency should have been in the very reverse way, stressing the labial and neglecting the velar. In the light of Gaelic, to whose influence Murray (and Ellis V 26) supposed it to be due (§ 126), this course is untenable altogether: Gaelic would have turned English xʍ (and kʍ) into xu (ku); cf. § 126.

For assuming that xʍ developed in a different direction we have no proof, but we have the evidence of an analogous change in parts of Ireland (North Connaught, Ulster). Here the process xʍ > f has reached the penultimate stage only. Quiggin (A Dialect of Donegal § 309) says: "*x* + *w*

---

[1]) Grant § 122: "In the North-East the back action of the tongue has been eliminated, producing (I) a bi-labial f and (II) later on the lip-teeth f of ordinary speech."

[2]) The Ellis-Bell conjecture (p. 833) "quite possibly the *f* (< *wh*) may be *ph*, without the action of the teeth, which much more closely resembles *wh*" cannot be substantiated.

[3]) The chiefly Anglian spelling *chu, chw* and even *qu*, which survives in Scottish as *quh*, points to this.

frequently passes into *fw*. English words beginning with *wh* appear in Irish and Anglo-Irish with *fw*, e.g. *fweel, fwenever*" (our fm'ɪvɪr).

§ 126. This well-marked peculiarity of the N.-E. naturally invited an explanation through Gaelic. Murray p. 79 says: "The dialects of the North-East [occupy] an originally Pictish area, to which it is reasonable to attribute... the pronunciation of *wh* as *f*." But again (cf. §§ 61, 117, 129) the influence of the substratum cannot be proved; on the contrary, the linguistic facts both external and internal go against it:

(I) The change xʍ- > f is not found in districts which were equally exposed to Gaelic influence (e.g. Stirling, Perthshire; cf. Wilson); on the other hand the change to f flourishes in districts which are furthest from that influence, viz. on the seaboard. (II) Nothing in Gaelic phonology points to xʍ- > f-, for the simple reason that Gaelic, at the time when English first appeared in Northern Scotland did not possess (w, ʍ) xʍ [1]). Sound substitution, therefore, was asked for, we might argue. Yes, but there is nothing to warrant the substitution of f. Suppose Gaels learning to speak Scots had failed to say *hwa*, what would they have said? Either kɑ or chɑ. Under Gaelic influence we should have arrived at kəit, chəit instead of fəit 'white'.

We shall therefore have to consider it as a native (Scots) development: xʍ > fʍ > f [2]).

This implies, as a first step, a radical change x > f, which has its analogies [3]) in English and other Germanic

---

[1]) The loss or alteration of original *w* was completed in all positions before the end of the 8th c. Scottish *wh*-words when taken over into Gaelic changed the initial into *ku*, in sandhi correspondingly *chu*, e.g. *whip* > Gael. *cuip* (kuiçp), in sandhi *chuip* (xuiçp), *wheel* > *cuibhle* (kuːil), *whinger* > *cuinnsear* 'dagger'.

[2]) The change xʍ > f in primitive Germanic, e.g. *(vlqᵘos >) *wulxʷas > *wulfas* > Goth. *wulfs; (kʷetwōres >) *xwedwōr* > Goth. *fidwōr* has not been explained in detail.

[3]) Only in different positions, viz. final or before *t* (cf. first footnote of next page) instead of initial.

dialects [1]). Did Gaelic promote this change? No, since Gael. x stands firm. But there are instances of Gael. x being taken into Scots as f, e.g. *ach(adh)-choirthe* 'field of the memorial stone' was anglicized as *Auchorthy* (there are many of them) and in the N.-E. this is often made *Aforthy*. Many Gael. *chu*-words were borrowed as *chw-* (spelt *quh-*) and subsequently turned into f (e.g. *Drumquhindle* drʌm'fʌnl̩).

How does, on our lines, *þw* become f [2])? Is it a direct change *þ* > f (as we have noted it at the end of § 122) or did it first turn into *hw-*? Since the third group of f-words, viz. those with original *w* (cf. table § 124), necessitates an intermediate xʍ stage (§ 125), we may assume *þw*, *w* > *wh* before the change xʍ > f began to operate. All our (*þw*, *w* >) f-words appear with *wh* (xʍ) outside the N.-E. and already in ME.

§ 127. Chronology. There is a lamentable dearth of data for tracking down this process. Both the external and the internal evidence are rather meagre. The literary records fail us, since their chancery or court spelling keeps all local peculiarities out. In all the burgh records (as in Barbour) the conventional Scottish symbol *quh* is used.

Our oldest record is an 'oratio recta' quotation of March 12th 1539 [3]): "*Margaret Porter . . . wes convict for the . . . myspersonyng of Jonat Ch. . . . in calling of hir commond vyld freris hvyr . . . I sell leid the to the place* ***for*** *the freir swewyt the,* ***quhar*** *you tynt the pendace of thi belt . . .*" [4])

---

[1]) cf. StE. draːft 'draught'; laːftə, our laxtɛr 'laughter' (Jordan § 196 Anm.); rˈnʌf, our ənˈjux 'enough'; Hackness θruf, G. durx 'through'; Swiss G. *ˈviftrax Wichtrach;* cf. the reverse change in LG. *Sicht* StE. *sift,* G. *Schicht* StE. *shift.* — For the English change x > f Jordan § 294 assumes, in Murray's sense, an intermediate xʷ.

[2]) According to Murray's course we might take *þw* > *f* to be a direct change with the gradual vanishing of *þ* parallel to that of *ch.*

[3]) Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1398—1570, Spalding Club, Aberdeen 1844, p. 159.

[4]) Observe that *for* is immediately followed by *quhar,* when the scribe slipped back into the conventional spelling.

The next record is April 18th 1539 (ibd.): "*ane bag, ane belt, ane phinger,*" i.e. 'a whinger' (kind of knife). Then there is P. Müller's record[1]) of *fat* 'what' for the last quarter of the 16th c.

The internal evidence is relative to other changes only. In § 126 we inferred that xʍ > f was subsequent to *þw*, *w* > xʍ. The process *þw* > *hw* has not yet been dated[2]), but we cannot go wrong in putting it in the 13th/14th c. It must have varied according to the district[3]). The earliest record (OED.) for *whittle* is 1404; Chaucer C. T. A 3933 still has *a Sheffeld thwitel.*

w > *wh* is not at all consistent, both *w-* and *wh*-forms existing as variants. Beside *wisk* (Icel. 'bundle of hay', G. *Wisch*) as in wɪsk ə stre: 'wisp of straw, bunch of feathers to clean the girdle with' or wʌsk-ɛr 'needle sheath' there must have existed *whisk*, the antecedent of our fʌsk, fʌskɛt 'whisker-ed' and fʌskɛr 'whisker'. For the forms of *whip* see OED. The required form *whisky* < Gael. *uisge* (uʃkə) must be older than the first record in OED. (1715).

The second phase fʍ > f was subsequent to ɪ, e > ʌ (§ 63), e: > əi (§ 69 Note) unless we think these changes independent of ʍ. The fʍ stage need not have been of long duration; ʍ may soon have been absorbed, specially between f-ʌ.

The external evidence taking it back beyond the 16th c., and the internal placing it after the 13th c., our change *wh* > *f* must have taken place in the 14th/15th c.[4]).

---

[1]) Cullen's Chronicle of Aberdeen 1570—95.

[2]) Grammars leave it undated within the ME. period; Horn, NEGr. § 199.

[3]) Some parts of Northern England and Scotland have retained θw to this day; cf. EDGr. § 243; Shetland has *tweet;* Yorkshire (Cowling § 373) has wɪtl, but *quhyte, quhittle* seem to be the common Scots forms since 15th c.

[4]) The lower date limit is also set by the arrival of English in the North-East in the 12th/13th c.

The Plosives.

b d g

§ 128. The mediae final have been dropped after their respective nasals — as have *b, g* [1]) in StE. —. In medial position, i.e. before *-in, -el* (ḷ), *-er* (ɪr, ər), no mediae have been inserted for euphonic purposes (cf. *b, d* in StE. *bramble* OE. *brémel, spindle* OE. *spinel*), nor have historic ones been retained as in StE. *handle, mangle, angry.*

StE.			Buchan		
-m	-mbḷ	-mbə	-m	-mḷ	-mər
-nd	-ndḷ	-ndə	-n	-nḷ	-nər
-ŋ	-ŋgḷ	-ŋgə, (-ŋə)	-ŋ	-ŋḷ	-ŋɪr

keːm 'comb', laːm 'lamb', wəim 'womb', klɪm(ɛn) 'climb-ing'; tʌmḷ 'tumble', θʌmḷ OE. *þýmel* 'thimble', brʌmḷ 'bramble', trɪmḷ 'tremble', skeːmḷz 'shambles', gɪmɛr ON. *gymbr* 'female sheep', tɪmɛr 'timber', lɪmɛr (cf. *limb?*) 'woman' (contemptuously), emɛr OE. *æmerʒe* 'ember', tʃɑːmɛr '(chamber), men-servants' room'.

sɪŋ 'sing', fʌŋ-ɪn 'pitch-ing', ɪŋɪnz 'onions' etc. § 112 c, meːŋɪ § 34 c., ɪŋḷ'njuk 'hearth corner', sɪŋḷ 'single', ɪŋlɪʃ 'English', fɪŋɪr 'finger', hʌŋər 'hunger'; in unstressed syllables ŋg (>ŋ) >n § 112 b. Examples for *d* see § 129.

Chronology. Final *b, d, g* after nasals have not been discarded simultaneously. The first to be dropped was *b* [2]); it stopped to be sounded about 1300 (Jordan § 211); *g* and *d* followed later [3]) (Jordan §§ 193, 200 Anm. 3). This is borne out by modern differences in final syllables: keːmɛn (not keːmɪn) 'combing', bɪ'lɑŋɪn 'belonging', hɑnɪn

[1]) Horn, Gutt. p. 30. "Nur der Westen des Mittellandes hat ŋg."

[2]) Earliest in the North (Barbour spells inconsistently chamyr II 97, chambre II 7; P. Müller p. 93 *kemmis* 1562 'combs'), then in all dialects and StE.; cf. the *-b* words in EDGr.

[3]) In unstressed syllables ŋg > ŋ at an earlier date probably; cf. the spelling *-in* for *ing* in the 14th c. (Jordan § 175). P. Müller p. 100 records *d*-less forms for the 16th c.

ʌuɪr 'handing over', ɪn'tenɪn 'intending', stanɪ 'booth'; cf. §§ 90a, 91.

The ending *-et* now joins on to the nasal, thereby eliding the vowel, e.g. ðe·r a: la·mt 'they are all lambed', ən ʌl wɪnt kre·tɛr 'an ill winded creature', ɪt wɪz sa·nt ʌp 'it was sanded up', hɪ la·nt 'he landed', hɪ ɪn'tent 'he intended', ðə pə'li·s pi·nt ɪt 'the police seized it', but 'd' may also be respected by letting the vowel sound: twa· hanɪt (also ha·nt) wark 'work done properly at the second attempt only', a katʃt ɪm 'ri·dhanɪt 'I caught him redhanded'[1]).

Note: The fact that strong verbs in *-ng*, *-nd* lack the pp. ending *-en*, which otherwise persisted in the North with much regularity (§ 143), is the result of the elision of *-g-*, *-d-* and the consequent meeting and assimilation of the nasals, e.g. fʌn < fʌnn *fun'en* < OE. *funden* 'found', like spʌn ME. *spunnen* 'spun'.

-nd > n.

§ 129. Whilst the dropping or assimilating of postnasal *-b*, *-g* is common to nearly all English and Scots dialects, that of *-d* and *-d-* is not even universal in Scots[2]). The all-round suppression seems to be confined to the North-East.

la·n 'land', bɪn 'bind', me·n 'mend', mən 'mind', ru·n 'round'; i·rɪn 'errand', sti·pɪn 'stipend', 'ɪŋlən *England*, tʌumən (< *towmond* < **towmonð* cf. § 121 Note); e·tɛn (< *etand*) 'eating' and all pres.p.'s unless *d* > t § 132i.

---

[1]) Grant p. 325 ə mɪθ ə 'mənət ə'po ðat 'I might have thought (minded) of that', where we heard mənt only, but Deeside also mənət.

[2]) Murray p. 121: "In the S. Counties /d/ is usually preserved, except between *n* and *l* as in *handle* etc. In *bundle* the *d* is heard; it is also dropped in *thunder[!]*, *gander*, *and* and one or two verbal forms *ban'*, *bun'* etc. and the termination of the pres.p., e.g. *eitand*." Wilson, C. Scotland (glossary) transcribes with *d* except in *mein* 'mind', *gran* (beside *grawnd*) 'grand', *dawner* (beside *dawnder*) 'to loiter', *hawnul* 'handle', *cannul-mas* 'candle-mass', *kennil* 'kindle', *stannin* (but *stand*) 'standing', *kinnay* (but *keind*) 'kind of'.

In medial position: bɪnɪn 'binding', hanɪ 'handie', 'benɪdʒ 'bondage', kanl̩ 'candle', 'fe·nləs 'weak', ʌnər'sta·n 'understand', anərsn̩ *Anderson*, lʌnɪn *London*, sanɪ (beside sandɪ) *Sandie*.

The exceptional wɪndɪ 'window' (also EDGr.) is the StE. form taken over; the native form is wɪnək 'winnock' (§ 132m), borrowed into Gaelic as *uinneag* uN'ak.

Prenasal *d* is elided in ge·rnɛr (cf. ge·rdɪn) 'gardener', but not in 'wɪdn̩zdɪ 'Wednesday'.

On the evidence of Modern Gaelic (which drops *d* in loanwords like *London, window, candle, blanndair, island*) and the Irish dialects of Barony Forth [1]), Murray pp. 28, 53 (and others after him) again advocates Celtic influence. We might add, in support of this theory, Ellis's D 1 (the Welsh border, with its *speen* 'spend' etc.; cf. p. 67 Footnote 4 and Th. Elworthy, The Dial. of West Somerset p. 15) and, to carry on the analogy with Swiss G. (cf. § 61 Footnote) the Vals and some Bernese dialects, which have hann 'hand', vunnərə 'wonder' vb. etc. [2]).

There are, however, strong arguments against this theory: (I) Wilson for Perth, i.e. Murray's 'Highland Border', notes no dropping of *-d*, but only of *-d-*. On the other hand EDGr. marks *lan, len* etc., i.e. without *-d* for dialects (like Kent) for which Celtic influence is out of the question. (II) The suppression of *d* in Gaelic is comparatively late. When Northumbrian was introduced, Gaelic still had it; the change would, therefore, have had to be carried through during the bilingual period. (III) The assimilation of *d* to *n*, which arises through the speaker not troubling to raise the uvula, is a very obvious phenomenon and might crop up anywhere independent of outside provocation. It is — without Celtic influence — the rule in Low G. (IV) The broader aspect taken in § 128 shows that *d* after *n* simply follows the way

---

[1]) These Teutonic dialects were surrounded by native Irish; they have *hoan* for *hand* etc.

[2]) cf. Bohnenberger, 'Die Mundart der deutschen Walliser' § 118; W. Henzen, 'Die Mundart von Freiburg' §§ 137, 140.

of *b*, *g* [1]), the phonetic reason being one and the same in all three. There is a fourth case, co-extensive with *nd* > n, viz. *ld* > l § 130. This, Murray does not view as the result of Gaelic influence. Is it right to think of Celtic influence in one out of four parallel changes, because this one happens to be shared by (Celtic) Gaelic?

ld > ll > l.

§ 130. This change has been referred to in connection with kindred changes in § 129. It covers the same district as does *-nd* > n (i.e. it is unknown in Perth), but, unlike the latter, it lacks consistency.

By failing to drop the edge(s) of the tongue the l continues to be sounded instead of d. The ll thus arising has been reduced to l (cf. n < *nn* < *nd*) without compensation after front vowels, with compensatory lengthening after back vowels.

	1st course			2nd course	restored form	
OE. *-ald*	a:l old	ka:l cold	fa:l fold	had hold	bo·ld bold	
	sa:l sold	ta:l told	ska:l scold	ska:d scald		
OE. *-old*	gwi·l yellow	< *gold* >		gʌud gold	mu·ld (ə lo·f) to mould bread	
	mu·l(z) [1] earth	< *molde* >		mudɪ mole		
OE. *-ild* *-eld*	tʃɪl child	wʌl erring	wəil wild		hi·ld held	wəild wild
	tʃi·l chiel	i·l barren	bi·l shelter		bi·ld shelter	

[1]) Murray p. 124 says himself: "We may lay it down as a principle, that the Northern tongue has a repugnance to the combination of the nasals *m*, *n*, *ng*, with their cognate mutes, *b*, *d* and *g*."

[2]) The genuine Buchan form would be mi·lz; cf. § 18 and Wilson's *muilz* for Fifeshire.

Disyllabic words			
	kaləɾ ON. *kaldr* fresh		ka·ldrif susceptible to cold
	meljɪr ON. *meldr* a milling	tʃa:dɪr measure of grain	bu·ldɪr boulder
	eljɪr[1]) OE. *eldra* church elder	ʃudɪr OE. *sculdor* shoulder	mu·ldɪr moulder
	a·lɛr older	sodʒɪr soldier	aldɪr alder-tree
		bɪ'hadn beholden	eldɪr elder sb.
			*tʃʌldər children

Interpretation of the tables.

(I) For the ME. sequences *-ald, -old* there were two possible ways of further development:

$$ald \begin{cases} all > aul > a{:}l \\ aud > a{:}d \end{cases} \qquad old \begin{cases} oll > ool > i{:}l,\ u{:}l \\ oud > \text{ʌud} \end{cases}$$

The deciding factor in the choice of way seems to be the chronology and the position of *d* in the word (whether final or medial) or wordgroup;

(II) For ME. *-ild, -eld* one course only was open, viz. to drop *d* without compensation[2]).

(III) There are monosyllables with -ld, either borrowed or restored. bo·ld is StE. for ba:l[3]), so is the variant wəild (EDGr. has *wail, weild*); bi·ld may be a borrow from other dialects[4]) or spelling pronunciation; hi·ld ows its -d to the

[1]) The two forms eljɪr and meljɪr have been noted for Deeside.

[2]) The length in tʃi·l, i·l, bi·l, wəil is due to ME. lengthening through *ld;* cf. §§ 19, 22.

[3]) J. Gibb glossary *baul* (= ba:l); EDGr. *bal, bāld, bold, bōld.*

[4]) Wilson's glossaries for Perth and C. Scotland have all these words with *-d* (*auld* etc. *yeld, beeld, wuld* etc.) except *milz, muilz* and *chiel* beside *cheeld* for C. Scotland. EDGr. teaches that *d*-less forms are met with more or less sporadically in other Scots and English dialects; cf. *chiel.*

verbal system and its preterite function; mu:ld may be after StE. *mould.*

Our tʃɪl 'child' is the regular unlengthened form of tʃi·l and corresponds to the Perth pl. *chuldur*[1]). The different meaning of wʌl and wəil suggests their respective connection with ON. *vill-r* (< **wilpija* >) OE. *wilde.* There is no reason why formally wʌl should not come from the native *wilde;* cf. our tʃɪl, J. G. glossary *wil'*, Perth *wuld, chuldur;* Ellis's *we¹l* (wɪl), for Cromar *wá¹il* (wəil), *well.*

In 'ʌpl̩ *uphold* 'to clear up', pʌmfl̩ *punfold* 'pinfold', he·ml̩ *hamald* ON. *heimilt* 'homely' we have the *d*-less form further reduced through lack of stress.

The disyllables are more difficult of explanation, since the *-ld*-forms cannot be dismissed as secondary. We expect the *-d-* to open the second syllable as it does to-day in bu·ldɪr and ʃudɪr. kalɛr, therefore, is exceptional. The problem with the d-forms is to find out why the l in one case remained while it disappeared in the other[2]). The comp. alɛr 'older', the pp. bɪ'hadn̩ are analogical, eldɪr is StE.

Note: Additional endings show no effect of the vanished *d* (§§ 90 Note, 128) and join direct: skɑ·lɛn 'scolding'; ɑ fɑ·lt ɪt 'I folded it', 'blɪmfɑ:lt 'blindfolded'.

g (dʒ, j).

§ 131. In OE., *ʒ*, the common ancestor of these sounds, was still a (voiced, palatal or velar) spirant except after *n* and *ʒ*, i.e. when geminated *ʒʒ* (I).

Later it turned into a plosive, but only where initial and velar, i.e. before the consonants *r, l, n,* velar vowels and their mutated counterparts (II).

---

[1]) Note the meanings: *chiel* 'young man', *chill* 'child', *chuldur* 'children'.

[2]) The vocalizing of *l* also before other stops has been dealt with in § 115. In words like mu·tɪr (Fr. *mouture* < med. Lat. *molitura*) 'multure' the *l* may have been vocalized at the time of borrowing.

As an initial palatal it remained the spirant **j** (III).

As a medial or final spirant it was vocalized and combined with the preceding vowel (IV) except that when final after (long) velar vowels it became unvoiced **(x)** (V).

It follows that any modern **g** in the positions (III), (IV), (V) cannot be of regular, native growth.

(I) OE. *nʒ* (ŋg) > **ŋ, n** § 128.
OE. *ʒʒ* (gg) > **g**, e.g. **dog** OE. *doʒʒa* 'dog'.
OE. *cʒ* (g'g') > **g**, e.g. **brɪg** OE. *brycʒ* 'bridge', **rɪg** OE. *hrycʒ* 'ridge', **rɪgm** ME. *ryggyng* 'roof', **θɪg** OE. *þicʒean* 'beg', **trɪg** ON. *tryggr* 'neat', **bɪg** ON. *byggja* 'build', **seg** OE. *secʒ* 'sedge', **leg** ON. *leggr* 'leg', **gle·g** ON. *kleggi* 'horse-fly', **sɪŋ** OE. **senʒean* 'singe'.

In StE., *cʒ* has become assibilated > **dʒ** at the end of the OE. period (Jordan § 192). The absence of the assibilation in the North is believed to be due to Scandinavian influence[1]). For most of the **-g** words above, ON. equivalents can be found; for the others we must, accordingly, resort to sound substitution by the Norse contingent among the Northumbrian population before the language spread North[2]).

Note 1. Our **(tɪmɛr) wɑdʒ** OE. *wecʒ* 'wooden wedge' must be imported from the South. **wɑd** 'pledge' and **wɑ:dʒ** 'wage' are the same word, viz. Germanic **waðja-*, the former being native, the latter the French modification of it. Note **sled** OE. *slecʒ* 'sledge-hammer' with exceptional **d** for **g**.

(II) OE. ʒ- (velar spirant) > **g** (2nd half of 10th c.).

gwi·d OE. *ʒód, ʒod* 'good, God' § 18, **gi·s** OE. *ʒós, ʒés* 'goose, geese', **ge·ðɪr** OE. *ʒadrian* 'gather', **grʌn** 'ground', **gle·d** 'glad', **gnjɑ:v** 'gnaw'; **gɪrn** metathetic form of *grin* OE. *grennian* 'make a peevish noise', **ge·t** ON. *gata* 'road'.

---

[1]) H. C. Wyld is sceptical about this hypothesis (Historical Study of the Mother Tongue p. 279).

[2]) I knew an Icelander in Aberdeen who after twenty years' experience in English and Braid Scots still failed to pronounce dʒ; he said **gjob** 'job', **'gjɛrmən** 'German'.

(III) OE. ȝ- (palatal spirant) > j (Jordan § 189).

jɑlɛ OE. *ȝeolu* 'yellow', je·rd OE. *ȝeard* 'garden', jɪt OE. *ȝeat* 'gate'; jɪsk § 106.

From Scandinavian [1]) or under its influence: gɑ:r ON. *gera* 'to make', gi: ON. *gifa* 'give', gɪldɪn ON. *gelding-r* 'gelding' as against i·l (< ji·l < late OE. *ȝielde*) 'barren', gɪs Da. *gisse* 'guess', gɪzn̩ ON. *gisna* 'to become leaky'.

get 'to get', bɪ'gɪn 'begin' might be native and due to analogy with the pt. *ȝat* (Anglian), *ȝann, ȝunnen* [2]). Note the genuine tense forms for'jɪt 'to forget', for'got, for'gotn̩; but for'get is ousting the first.

Note 2. In ðə'stri·n for **jə'stri·n* *yester e'en* 'yesterday' we have analogy after ðə'nɪçt 'to-night', ðə'de: 'to-day' etc.

The initial in gjɑ:n 'going' is a peculiar sound, being, unlike the other g's, palatal; so much so that it may sound djɑ:n.

(IV)	OE. *a* + ȝ	> *au*	> ɑ:		§ 39
	OE. *æ* + ȝ	> *ei*	> e:, e·ɛ		§§ 29, 30
	OE. *e* + ȝ		> ɑ:		§ 42
	OE. *ǽ* + ȝ	> *ēi*	> e:		§ 29
	OE. *é* + ȝ		> ɑ·e, əi		§ 68
	OE. *i* + ȝ	> *ii*	> ɑ·e, əi		§ 66
	OE. *y, ý* + ȝ				
	OE. *o* + ȝ	> *ou*	> ʌu		§ 70. 3
	OE. *ó* + ȝ	> *ōu*	> u:		§ 53
	OE. *u* + ȝ	> *ū*	> u:		§ 51
	OE. *ú* + ȝ				

Any g's left in positions similar to these must go back to OE. *cȝ, ȝȝ* (cf. I) or hail from Scandinavian *gg* [3]):

---

[1]) Already in Old Icel. any initial *g-* was a plosive (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gr. 37), whilst in Low G. it was treated as in OE. (cf. Steller § 42 ff.).

[2]) In fact the g in bɪ'gɪn must be explained internally, since this West Germanic, Gothic verb is not known in ON.

[3]) Scand. single *-g-, -g* was a spirant too; only it was not vocalized (cf. Mod. Icel. dagyr nom. 'day', dajm acc. 'the day').

dɑg ON. *dögg* 'dew, mist', lʌg ON. *lugg* 'ear', rʌg ON. *rugga* 'pull', kɔg ME. *kogge* 'a pail for milk', drɑg Swed. *dragga* 'to drag'.

Note 3. se: OE. *secʒan* 'say', le: OE. *lecʒan* 'lay' § 29, bɑ·e OE. *bycʒean* 'buy', lɑ·e OE. *licʒan* 'lie' § 66 are from forms with single -ʒ-, e.g. 2./3. sg.

dre:gɪn 'kite' had no spirant, being of French origin.

When followed by syllabic *l, n (r)*, e.g. OE. *snæʒl* 'snail', *reʒn* 'rain', *fæʒr* 'fair', -ʒ- left, in Buchan, a vowel behind: sne·ɛl, re·ɛn, fe·ᵊr, thus preserving the disyllabic character § 30. When followed by *d* the result is *ei* > e:, OE. *sæʒde* > se·d 'said'.

After *l, r* the OE. ʒ appears as ə, ɛ, e : swalɛ OE. *swelʒan* 'to swallow', halɛ OE. *hálʒa* 'hallow', galəs cf. OE. *ʒalʒa* 'gallow'.

OE. *-iʒ* > *l* > modern i, e, ɛ : mɪrɛ OE. *myriʒe* 'merry', hɪvɪ OE. *heſiʒ* 'heavy', twɪntɪ OE. *twéntiʒ* 'twenty' § 87.

(v) OE. -ʒ-, -ʒ > *h* > ç, x § 121 a (II).

p t k

§ 132. a) t final is dropped after p, k
b) t medial is dropped between ç, x, f, s and n̥, n, l̥
c) t, k final are dropped after s.

a) ɪ ðə ɑk o 'in the act of', fɑks 'facts', ɪk'spek 'expect', kən'dɑk 'conduct', 'fekləs 'weak', 'obdʒek 'odd-looking thing', tempɪn 'tempting'; 'perfɛt (beside 'perfek) 'perfect' is no exception; it comes from ME. *perfit* Mod. Fr. *parfait*[1]).

Note: Words like me·rtʃɛn 'shop-keeper', tenɛn 'tenant', servɪn 'servant' lost the dental after it had become d (§ 129); in fe·ʒɪn OFr. *faisan* 'pheasant' it probably never existed.

[1]) Sylvester Douglas: "In all words ending in *ct*, except *perfect*, the vernacular Scotch pronunciation rejects the *t*. But in this single word the *c* is suppressed . . . and the *t* only pronounced." But the vb. *to perfect* is only heard with k, i.e. perfek.

b) *krɪst : krɪsn̩ 'christen', fest : fesn̩ 'fasten', safn̩-t 'soften-ed' and cf. § 144; am ni:r bʌrsn̩ 'I am nearly burst', dʌrsnə *durstna* 'dared not', kʌsn̩ 'cast' pp., lɪçnɛn 'lightning', feçt : fər'foxn̩ 'wearied'; fʌsl̩ 'whistle', kɑ·sl̩ 'castle', θrɪsl̩ 'thistle', but lʌxtɛr etc. § 45, di·stɪr 'do-er'.

Note: skl- has remained in skle·t OFr. *esclate* 'slate'; skr- commonly; cf. § 118.

c) bi·s 'beast-s', bɑs 'bast', bʌs 'bush' etc. § 118 Note 3 b. The suppression of -t and -k is very irregular; cf. ho·st 'cough', i·st 'East', mɑ·sk 'brew', fʌsk 'wag'.

d) k has remained in front of n, e.g. knʌu 'hillock', knəif 'knife', kni: 'knee', kni:vlɪk cf. ON. *knefill* LG. *knevel* 'big lump', knok 'clock'.

e) Palatal *c* is suppressed in ti·n 'taken', mɪ'sti·n 'mistaken', me·d ME. *makede* 'made'.

f) Epenthetic -t has been added after the homorganic nasal: sʌdɪnt 'sudden', əidɪnt 'busy', se·rtɛn(t) 'certain', ə'nent OE. *on efn* 'in front of', 'ɑ·l'fɑrənt 'old-fashioned' [1]). Adverbial compounds in *-ly*, e.g. se·rtɛn-t-le no doubt favoured the insertion [2]). Note after *r* mʌlɛrt 'miller', which corresponds to Southern English mɪləd (EDD.).

g) The instability of final tenuis in 'mudɪwɑrt ME. *moldwerp* [3]), Forfar mu·dɪwɑrk 'mole' proves that the composition is no longer understood.

h) st < sk in stəim ON. *skíma* § 66 is as old as Cursor Mundi (about 1320).

i) t < *d* final in an unstressed syllable (Jordan § 200): sekɛnt 'second' (but θu·zɪn 'thousand') on the analogy of the other ordinals; 'ɑ:l'fɑrənt [4]) 'old-fashioned' < the pres.p. *farande* 'faring' and analogically əidɪnt 'busy' (§ 110); fumərt

---

[1]) For another, historical explanation of 'ɑ·l'fɑrənt, see i) below.

[2]) cf. G. *namen-t-lich, öffen-t-lich* 'open-ly, publicly'; OE. *ondrysen-d-lic*, Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 198. 5.

[3]) M.'s *maudəwərp* § 176 I could not trace.

[4]) The reason why 'ɑ:l'fɑrənt did not drop its *-d* like an ordinary pres.p. (§§ 129. 142) may be its isolation (Murray p. 121 records four pres.p.'s with the dental); but see f) above.

'pole cat' (§ 120 Note 1), wʌrsɛt 'worsted', wʌrmɛt 'wormwood'; fre·mt OE. *fremede* 'strange', be·lt 'bald', fi:rt 'feared, afraid', and the pt., pp. ending *-ed* (§ 141) generally[1]).

The difference of kja:rd 'tinker', and e·rt 'direction' Mod. Gael. *ceard, aird* goes back to a difference in Gaelic; *aird* at the time of borrowing had *-t* or was disyllabic. ke·rts 'cards' is a later borrow from Fr. *carte.*

k) t < *þ* in abstract nouns from adjectives: drʌxt OE. *drúʒað* 'drought', hɪçt OE. *hiehþu* 'height', slɪçt 'sleight'. In the ordinals fɪft OE. *fífta,* sɑkst OE. *siexta,* twɑlt OE. *twelfta* the t is primary, whilst in fo·rt OE. *féorða* 'fourth' it is secondary.

l) p < *b.* ni·pər OE. *neáhʒebúr* 'neighbour'.

m) k < *g* final, when unstressed (cf. t < *d*)? wɪnək ON. *vindauga* 'window', elbɪk OE. *eln-boʒa* 'elbow', kwe·k ON. *quiga* 'young cow'. This change is doubtful; for the original -ʒ- was a spirant, which through unvoicing would have become ç or x (cf. le·ç ON. *lág-r* § 121). It may be analogical after the diminutives in *-ock*[2]) § 145, except in Gaelic borrows, perhaps: ki·rɪk Gael. *caorag 'keerack,* bit of peat', i·rɪk Gael. *eireag 'earock,* pullet'. Our stɑŋk Fr. *étang* 'pool' and kri·ʃ Fr. *graisse* 'grease' both represent older Fr. forms *estanc, craisse,* Lat. **stanco,* **crassia.*

n) g < *k* is found in gle·g ON. *kleggi* 'cleg, horse-fly'; perhaps trɑg for *trock* 'rubbish'.

k : tʃ.

§ 133. OE. *c,* to begin with, was a plosive and as such of double quality:

---

[1]) The interjection fɪnt (ə fi:ro:t 'no fear of it') < *fiend* OE. *féond* (OED.) is exceptional in as far as t < *d* under stress. Might it be fɪnt < *fent* (§ 58 a, cf. Wilson, C. Scotland *faint,* beside *feent*), the regular pp. (§ 141 Note) of *fen', fend* 'forbid, ward off'. Or is it *fen't* < *fend it!*?

[2]) cf. the variant kwe:ək.

palatal (I) initial before originally palatal vowels, not including the mutated vowels

y, ý (< u, ú), e, é (< o, ó), ę, æ, ǽ (< a, á).

(II) medial before original *i, j.*

(III) final after *i, í.*

velar (IV) in all other positions.

The palatal/velar distinction is made more evident by the subsequent development:

OE. palatal *c* has been assibilated > tʃ,

OE. velar *c* has remained k.

(IV) kanl̩ 'candle', kʌm 'come', ku: 'cow', ki·n OE. *céne* 'keen', kɨn OE. *cyn* 'kin', kɨl OE. *cylene* 'kiln', ka·e OE. *cý* 'cows', kəi OE. *cǽʒ* 'key'; kle·θ 'cloth', kra: 'crow', kni: 'knee', kwi·n 'queen'; duk OE. **dúcan* 'bathe', sik OE. *séoc* 'sick', stik OE. **stecan* 'to close', stɨk OE. *stician* 'stick', θak OE. *þæc* 'thatch'[1]), bjuk OE. *bóc* 'book'; fʌuk 'folk', drɪŋk 'drink'.

Note 1. ka:f 'calf', ka:l 'cold', ka:k 'chalk' and kaf 'chaff' are from ONhb. *calf, cald, calc, cæf,* pl. *cafu,* all with velar *c* against Southern *cealf* etc. with palatal *c.*

(I) tʃɨn OE. *cinn* 'chin', tʃi·l, tʃɨl OE. *cild* 'chiel, child', 'tʃɨl(ble·ɛn) OE. *ciele* 'chill', tʃʌkŋ OE. *cicen* 'chicken'[2]), tʃi:z OE. *cíese* 'cheese', tʃe·p cf. OE. *céap* 'cheap', tʃap cf. OE. *céap-mon* 'chap', tʃa·ez OE. *céosan* 'choose'.

(II) wɨtʃ OE. *wicce* 'witch', bitʃ OE. *béce* 'beech', vratʃ OE. *wrecca* 'wretch', kɨtʃɛ OE. *cycene* Lat. *cucina* 'kitchen'.

(III) a·e OE. *íc* 'I', dɨtʃ OE. *díc* 'ditch', fʌtʃ OE. *hwilc* 'which'.

The state just illustrated is, with one or two natural exceptions (see Note above), also that of StE. It agrees with

---

[1]) The tʃ in StE. *thatch* is after the verb, *thatch* < **thetch* (our θik), which in its turn took æ from the noun.

[2]) The 2nd c is not palatalized owing to forms like the gen. *cicnes,* pl. *cicnu.*

the assumption that the assibilation is a change common to all English and Scots dialects (Jordan § 177). The following k-forms are therefore exceptions to the rule; exceptions commonly explained by Scandinavian, whose k's remained unassibilated. The k of words like kɪtl ON. *kitla* 'tickle', kɪtlɪn ON. *kettling-r* 'kitten', kenl cf. ON. *kynda* 'kindle', təik ON. *tík* 'dog', which did not exist in the English language until they were borrowed from Norse, or like sark ON. *serk-r* < **sarki-z* 'shirt', whose vowel also cannot be from OE. *sierce*, suggests that it also hails from ON. in those cases where OE. had a possible equivalent.

(I) kɪrn ON. *kirna* OE. *cirin* 'churn', kɪrk ON. *kirkja* ON. *cirice* 'church', kɪst ON. *kista* OE. (Anglian) *cest* 'chest', ke·n ON. *kenna* OE. *cennan* 'know', karl ON. *karl* OE. *ceorl* 'old man', ketl ON. *ketill* OE. *cietel* 'kettle' [1]).

(II) bɪk ON. *bikkia* OE. *bicce* 'bitch', brik-s ON. pl. *brǿkr* OE. pl. *bréc* 'breeches', rik ON. *reykr* < **rauki-z* > OE. *réc* 'smoke', bɪrk ON. *björk* OE. *birce* 'birch', bɪŋk ON. **benk* OE. *benc* 'bench', kɪŋk Da. *kink* 'trick', mʌkl ON. *mikill* OE. *mycel* 'much', blek ON. *blek* OE. **blæcce* Southern *blatch*, *bletch* 'boot-polish'.

(III) ləik ON. *líkr* OE. *líc* 'like', dəik ON. *díki* OE. *dic* (> dɪtʃ) 'wall, rampart', sɪk ON. *slíkr* OE. *swilc* 'such'.

Those k-words, finally, for which ON. has no equivalent, are supposed to owe their k to substitution by Norse speakers (cf. § 131), e.g. stik OE. *stice* 'a stitch', pɪk OE. *pic* 'pitch' sb. For others Dutch influence might be adduced, e.g. kɪŋk(ho·st) LG. *kinken* OE. *cincian* 'whooping-cough'.

The following words may be accounted for analogically within their inflectional system:

kaf OE. *ceaf* after the pl. *cafu* 'chaff'; verbs like stri·k OE. *streccean* < **strakjan* 'stretch', θik OE. *þeccean* 'thatch', kli·k OE. **cleccean* 'clutch', pɪk OE. **piccean* 'throw'

---

[1]) On the Scandinavian basis the vowels of kɪst, ketl, karl need no explanation.

(hence pɪkɛr 'a pitcher, the marble with which a boy aims') after forms with consonantal endings, e.g. *strecst, strecþ* [1]).

Note 2. pertrɛk Lat. *perdrix* 'partridge', lɑrɛk Lat. *larix* 'larch tree' owe their -k to direct derivation from the Latin; they are back-formations, secondary sg. forms after a supposed pl. in -ks; cf. § 176.

The Affricates dʒ tʃ.

§ 134. Apart from dʒ < *g* (§ 131) and tʃ < *c* (§ 133) these affricates have arisen from the following sources:

a) dʒ < OFr. *g* or *j* : dʒi·l Fr. *geler* 'to catch a cold', dʒug 'jug', dʒʌdʒ 'judge', pe·dʒ 'page', dʒɑ·d 'jade', wɑdʒɪr 'wager'. The Fr. suffix *-age* is -edʒ, ɪdʒ, e.g. benɪdʒ 'bondage', meredʒ 'marriage'; but note unvoiced potɛtʃ Fr. *potage* 'porridge'.

b) tʃ < OFr. *ch* : tʃəin 'chain', tʃe·t 'cheat', tʃe·rdʒ 'charge', putʃ *pouch* 'pocket'.

Note 1. After n the dental element is barely noticeable: strʌn(d)ʒ 'sour', tʃi·n(d)ʒ 'change', hɪnʃ 'haunch', trɪnʃ 'trench', bre·nʃ 'branch'.

Exceptional sources. tʃ has come from

kj tʃɑfts ON. *kjapt* 'jaws', tʃʌuks ON. *kjálki* 'jaws'.
tj tʃɑ:v alongside tjɑ:v § 106.
ts mʌtʃ Du. *mutse* 'woman's bonnet'. skotʃ *Scots.*
ds i·tʃ OE. *adesa* 'adze'.
ʃ tʃop OE. *scoppa* StE. *shop*, tʃɪŋl *shingle;* cf. the reverse fetʃ > feʃ 'fetch' § 118 Note 2.
s se·rtʃ Fr. *searce* 'strain'.

Note 2. sɪŋ OE. **senʒean* 'singe' against StE. *singe.*

---

[1]) cf. StE. *seek : beseech* etc.; see Jordan § 179, Horn, NEGr. § 219 Anm. 3, Wyld, HStMT. p. 276.

Part II.

Accidence.

1. The Endings.

A) Inflectional Endings.

-(e)s, -(e)d, -in'[1]*, -en, -r.*

§ 135. Of these inflectional means the first three only are alive, *-en* is confined to the pl. of three nouns and to the pp. of strong verbs, *-r* is a relic of a pl. ending never very strong in English.

a) Nominal Endings: *-r, -en, -s.*

§ 136. *r*-pl. It lives on in kɑ:r OE. *cealfru* 'calves'[2]) and in the unhistorical and double pl. bri:rz of OE. *brǽ(w)* G. *Braue* 'eye brows'. The former is the only form a genuine speaker would use, e.g. ðə kɑ:r z ɑ: ut nu: 'the calves are all out in the field now', the latter is ousted in everyday speech by the regular i·bru:z[3]), but it remains in the saying hiz hɪŋɪn 'ɛn bɪ ðə 'bri:rz o·z 'i·n 'he's doing his utmost'; cf. also Gl. 87 ðə 'bri:rz o·z 'i·n wɪz 'sʌŋ 'the brows (or lashes?) of his eyes were singed'.

The pl. *tʃɪldɪr OE. *cildru* 'children', which would be the regular pl. form of our tʃɪl < OE. *cild* (cf. § 130) and which is found in BBr. II 47, 109 etc. and in present day Yorkshire[4]) and Perthshire (tʃʌldər), can no longer be ascertained. The pl. of tʃi·l 'chiel, young man' is tʃi·lz.

---

[1]) According to modern speech feeling the ending of the pres.p. and the gerund is, of course, inflectional.

[2]) cf. OHG. *kelbir* > Mod. G. *Kälber*.

[3]) Originally different as regards etymology — it is OE. *brú* — and probably also meaning. But the distinction between *eye-lashes* and *eye-brows* is blurred in many languages.

[4]) Wright, Dial. of Windhill § 92 tʃɪldə(r) only used in the pl., for the sg. bɑ:n is used.

§ 137. *n*-pl. The OE. weak declension did not spread very much as a pl. sign in the North[1]). i·n OE. *éaʒan* 'eyes', ʃi·n ME. *schōn* 'shoes', ʌusn OE. *oxan* 'oxen' are the only survivals. Ex. ə gwi·d siqt foɪ se:r i·n 'a good sight for sore eyes'; Gl. 89 ho:z ən ʃi·n 'stockings and shoes', horsʃi·n 'horse-shoes'. ʌusn is gradually falling into oblivion[2]); the present generation knows it from hearsay mostly. There lingers in the memory of the older people ðə twa·l ʌusn plu: (JG. 259) 'twelve oxen plough'.

Note: Children can be heard to speak of ʃi·nz, for -n to them is an insufficient carrier of the pl. notion.

§ 138. *s*-pl. and gen. sg. This remains the only pl. ending of any vitality. At the same time it does duty as genitive possessive. The phonetic aspect is the same for both. In Buchan, as in StE., the quality of -*s* is determined by the final sound of the uninflected form; only there is no distinctly marked buzz for the voiced variety (§ 102), and if we render post-voice -*s* by z it is done to express also a difference of force. The values of -*s* are

s after breath, z after voice, ɪz after sibilants (§ 85).

bjuks 'books', smiðs 'smiths', troxs 'troughs'; rɪbz 'ribs', lʌgz 'ears', me:ðz 'maggots', lʌmz 'chimneys', wa:z 'walls'; bʌsɪz 'bushes', ro·zɪz 'roses', putʃɪz 'pockets', wa:dʒɪz 'wages'.

Note 1. The pl. of bi·s(t) 'beast' is bi·s (§ 132 c); note the gen. bi·s'me·t *beasts' meat* 'food for cattle'.

---

[1]) All the more interesting that i·n survived in Scots, but not in StE.; nearly all English dialects, however, preserved the *n*-form. Wright, Windhill § 334 records the same three *n*-pl.'s.

[2]) Owing to the disappearance of oxen before the plough and cart. For to this special sphere — warkoks, -ʌusn — had the word been relegated in the minute differentiation of the live stock, stot, stark, bal applying to the other varieties of the male line.

Note 2. With words in *-nd, -nt,* which have lost the stop (§ 129) so as to end in n, an indifferent z/s is heard: haːnz/s 'hands', mertʃɛnz/s 'merchants', tenɛnz/s 'tenants'. Note the disguised, voiceless pl.-*s* in belɛs 'bellows', galɛs 'gallows', dəis 'dice' §§ 147 Note 2, 176.

§ 139. The StE. historical voicing of f θ s in the originally intervocalic position of the pl. or gen. is not really carried through (§ 103 Note). Genuine speakers say wəifs 'wives', knəifs 'knives', θiːfs 'thieves', liːfs 'leaves', loːfs 'loaves', ʃeːfs 'sheaves', ləifs 'lives', skɪlfs 'shelves', haːfs 'halves', weːfs 'waves', reθs 'terms', greθs 'harnesses' [1]). Note husɪz 'houses'.

b) Verbal Endings: *-s, -(e)d, -in', -en.*

§ 140. *-s*-pres. Its phonetic forms are subject to the same laws as the nominal *-s*, described in § 138. Note the unvoicing of z through a following voiceless t, e.g. ɪst 'is it?'; cf. § 103.

§ 141. *-d*-preterite, pp. This dental ending — OE. *-(e)de*, StE. -d, t — appears

(I) after non-stop consonants	as	t [2])
(II) after stops according to § 87. 3	as	it, ɪt, ɛt
(III) after vowels	as	t, d

For the history of *d* > t, cf. § 132 i.

(I) hɪ bant 'cursed', haŋt 'hanged', seːrt 'served', ɪt ʌpɬt 'it cleared up'; laːeðt ɪt 'made it milder', hɪ diːvt mɪ 'he

---

[1]) Murray p. 157 for Southern Scotland: *half, laif* (loaf), *shelf, elf* take -fs, the others -vz. Wilson, C. Scotland p. 61: wəifs, nəifs, ʃifs, θifs. For Morayshire note θiːfs 'thieves', leːfs 'leaves'; cf. old spellings with *f* (P. Müller p. 96).

[2]) Enclitic *it* 'it' alternates in the very same way between t and ɪt, ɪt, ɛt; e.g. fʌlt 'fill it!', giːt 'give it!' ˈdrɪŋk ɪt 'drink it!'; cf. §§ 88, 98 b.

stupefied me', ɪt tʃi·ndʒt 'it changed', ti·tʃt 'taught', i·st 'used'; for further examples, cf. § 88b. Exceptions: ɑ hard 'I heard', he:vd 'lifted', ʃe:vd 'shaved'.

(II) hɪ gəidit 'he saved', rʌgɪt 'pulled', hɑpɛt 'covered', rʌupit 'drove out', tʃe·tet 'deceived', ikit 'eked out'.

(III) hɪ di:t 'died', kni:t 'kneeled', li:t 'lied', ə'lu:t 'allowed', rʌut 'rolled, rowed'; hʌret 'hurried' [1]), meret 'married', folɛt 'followed'.

hɪ hɪd 'had', dɪd 'did', gɪd 'went', sed 'said', bɪ'gud 'began', kɑ:d 'called, drove', ʃod 'shoed', ple·d [2]) 'played', pu:d 'pulled', plu:d 'ploughed', spju:d 'spat', ʃu:d 'sewed', tʃɑ:d 'chewed', pəid 'paid', tɑ·ed 'tied', krɑ·ed 'cried'; for further examples, see § 164 ff.

A compromise form (*d* lenis) was heard in

ðe gri:^{d}/t 'they agreed', ɑ bu:^{d}/t 'I bowed', bru:^{d}/t 'brewed', bre·^{d}/t 'pressed', hiz gləi^{d}/t 'he squints', trɑ·e^{d}/t 'tried'.

Note: After *-n(d)* the ending is commonly -t, rarely ɪt; see § 128; after *-l(d)* it is invariably t (§ 130 Note); d in fɑ:ld ʌp he·m is a case of lenisation (§ 104).

§ 142. *-in'* pres.p. and gerund. For the forms -ɪn, -ɛn and the phonetic aspect, see § 87. 4.

The basis of *-in* is double: (I) the old verbal adj. in *-ande, -ende* [3]) and (II) the verbal noun in *-ing*. By regular development the two converged in ɪn etc. [4]), the first by dropping *d* (§ 129), the second by "dropping *g*" (§ 112b) [5]).

---

[1]) With verbs ending in -re native speakers feel three syllables in the pt., pp., something like kereᵊt 'carried'.

[2]) Deeside has t in all words from ple·t to the end of the list.

[3]) cf. Mod. Icelandic *et-andi,* Mod. G. *ess-end;* StE. *eat-ing* (borrowed from gerund).

[4]) 16th c. records use *-ing* and *-and* promiscuously; cf. P. Müller p. 130.

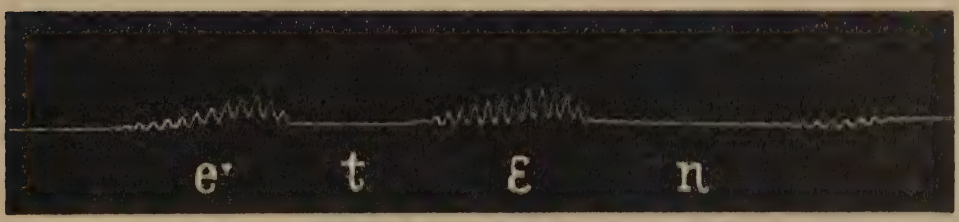
[5]) In Southern Sc. (Murray p. 210) and Penrith (Reaney § 365) the pres.p. and the gerund are still kept apart by means of the vowel, e.g. *haddan* pres.p., *haddin* gerund. Note, that our vowel alternance is purely phonetic, that of Southern Sc. historical and functional.

snodɪn 'trimming', kʌupɪn 'tilting', sniʃɪn 'snuff', lɑxɛn 'laughing', fɑ:ɛn 'falling'. The only exception is gjɑ:n 'going', which is monosyllabic.

§ 143. *-en* pp. Unlike *-in'* of the pres.p. and gerund, the ending of the pp. never has a vowel; it is -n̩; cf. §§ 87. 4, 107. The former being fairly heavy owing to a tendency towards level stress (§ 92), it cannot possibly be mistaken for the pp., particularly when the nasal by assimilation becomes ŋ, e.g. ʃakɛn—ʃakŋ *shakin'—shaken.*

ðats gwi·d e·tɛn	that's good eating	ðats 'mɑ·e wɑʃɛn	that's my washing
hɪ wɪz e·tɛn	he was eating	ʃɪ wɪz wɑʃɛn	she was washing
hɪ hɪd e·tn̩	he had eaten	hɪz ne· wɑʃn̩	he's not washed.

The kymographic tracings of *eatin'* and *eaten* leave no doubt as to the nature of the two forms [1]).



e·tɛn shows the open release of *t* in the form of vowel-waves, the *t* in e·tn̩ has faucal release, which does not show.

---

[1]) Grant, p. 115 Footnote cannot have been thinking of Buchan nor, for that matter, of Southern Scots (cf. Murray 211) when he wrote: "In most Sc. dialects such couples as *falling — fallen, eating — eaten, holding — holden* are represented in each case by one pronunciation 'fɑən itn hɑ:dn." Wilson, C. Scotland p. 94: "the termination of the pres.p. and verbal noun . . . is *-in* with some tendency towards *-un* [our n]"; but also note on the other hand his unexpected -ɛn for some pp.'s: *wishin* 'washed', *thrishin* 'threshed'.

The following table shows how the three grammatical forms are rendered in Northern dialects.

	pres.p. gerund	pp.
Yorkshire [1])	ɪn	ṇ ṃ ŋ
Penrith	ən ṇ ɪn	ṇ
Southern Sc.	ən ɪn	ṇ
Perthshire	ɪn (> ṇ)	ṇ (ɛn)
Buchan	ɪn ɛn	ṇ ṃ ŋ

It is not necessary to give a list of those str. verbs that have their pp.'s in *-en*. We may say that in Buchan they all have it, only it does not sound when the stem ends in a nasal: wʌn 'won', bʌn 'bound' (§ 128 Note), sprʌŋ 'sprung' (§ 153), kʌm 'come' [2]). The only exceptions are ʃot 'shot', sti·d 'stood'.

Note: This state agrees with the historical facts, which teach us (Jordan § 170) that the North, while ordinarily dropping *-n* in unstressed syllables sooner than the South, preserved it (under the influence of the Scand. pp.'s in *-enn*, O. Ritter ESt. 46, 32) in the pp. ending.

B) Formative Endings.

a) Verb-forming.

§ 144. *-en*, the only prolific suffix by which new verbs are derived, is invariably syllabic, i.e. ṇ (§§ 107, 109) or,

---

[1]) Wright, Dial. of Windhill § 384.

[2]) For StE. the rule may be established that a verb with a nasal after the radical vowel dissimilates and drops the ending *-en: run, sung, come, found, sunk;* cf. the similar rule for MHG. (Michels, Mhd. Elementarbuch § 173) and Mod. Bavarian (wo die Schwachtonsilbe mit Nasal beginnt, da verklingt *-n : g'numeⁿ* 'taken', *g'sungeⁿ* 'sung', *g'spunneⁿ* 'spun' but *g'essn* 'eaten', *g'haltn* 'held', *g'schribm* 'written', *g'leng* 'gelegen, lain'). But there are, in StE., many others without *-en*, e.g. *struck, got, sat* etc.

when assimilated, ɱ, ŋ : lɪpɱ, waˑkŋ (§ 108). The Buchan stock of examples is essentially that of StE. They are mostly derived from adj. and nouns and they have largely changed from the originally intr., inchoat. meaning (e.g. gɪzn̩ ON. *gisna* 'become leaky') to the transitive, causative (e.g. fesn̩ OE. *fæstnian* 'make fast'); cf. Note and Deutschbein § 37. 3 b.

wəidn̩ 'widen', hardn̩ 'harden', fəitn̩ 'whiten', fatn̩ 'fatten', safn̩ 'soften', leçn̩ 'lower', tɪçn̩ 'tighten', straxn̩ 'straighten', slakŋ 'slacken'. hɪçn̩ 'heighten', lɪçn̩ 'lighten', frɪçn̩ 'frighten', kɪrsn̩ 'christen' (*chtn* > *chn* § 132 b).

Note: ʃarp OE. *scęrpan* < **skarpjan* G. *schärfen* (cf. ʃarpɛn stiˑn 'whetstone') 'sharpen' represents the old type of the trans. verb, ʃort OE. *scortian* 'to shorten (the time)' that of the intr. verb; in StE. the new type has ousted them.

b) Noun-forming.

§ 145. *-ie, -ock, -ikie, -ikin* diminutives. For the phonetic appreciation see §§ 87. 1, 89 b.

-ie, the well-known Sc. diminutive, can be joined on to any noun, without causing the final consonant to change (§ 103 Note), e.g. husi *housie,* knəifi-z 'little knives'. Originally expressive of endearment (or contempt) and therefore specially rampant in the familiar language of pet names, e.g. tʃeˑrle *Charlie,* dʒɪmɛ *Jimmie,* kɪrste *Christina,* wʌlɛ *Willie,* grane *grannie,* and from adj. fiːrtɪ 'coward', fate 'fat boy', safte 'ninnie', the *-ie* suffix may be more or less devoid of affective connotation, e.g. in mole 'mole-catcher', poste 'post-man', geme 'game-keeper'.

Nouns with mutation plurals may form their dim. on the modified pl. basis, thereby expressing the pl. notion twice[1]), e.g. mane, pl. menez 'little men'; fɪte, pl. fitiz 'little feet';

[1]) cf. StE. *men-students* and, with a moveable suffix, StG. *Löcher-chen* 'little holes', *Kinder-chen* alongside the unmarked pl. *Kind-chen* 'little children'.

kafe, pl. karez 'little calves'; cf. ðe·r a: wi: menez 'they are all wee men' and the folksongs: hap ən rʌu ðə fitiz o·t 'cover and roll the little feet of it (a child)', karez ən ka·e 'calf-ies and cows'.

-ock, -ick OE. *-uc, -oc* has not enough vitality to be freely added to any noun [1]), e.g. *lasek 'little lass', but it is found in quite a number of more or less isolated [2]) words denoting (ı) (relatively small) quantities: hʌlək ə sti·nz 'heap of stones', mi:lik *mealock* 'crumb of oat-cake', drıblık 'small quantity of any liquid', hʌtək ə həi 'shock of hay', kni:vlık [3]) ə tʃi:z 'piece of cheese', (ıı) living beings: di:vlık *devilick* 'an imp', kwe·k (ON. *quíga + ock;* cf. OED. sub *quey* and § 132 m) 'heifer', stırk (*stéor + ic;* cf. OED.) 'young ox'; i·rık (§ 132 m) is no longer understood as a borrow from Gaelic, hence the popular etymology *year-ock* "a hen not exceeding a year old" J. Gibb, Gloss. [4]). Upper Deeside erek.

-ickie, the combination of *ock + ie* is, however, much alive in the spoken language: wəifıki 'little wife', laseke, maneke, lameke, kwəinıki, poteke 'little lass, man, lamb, quine (girl), pot' etc. wındıki 'little window' has the simple suffix *-ie*, though perhaps not felt that way.

-(i)kin [5]) is of limited use: bitikınz 'little boots'; cf. § 89 b, flınərkın 'little flinders, rubbish'; pi·tərkın *Peterkin.*

---

[1]) But see Grant § 178, "*-ock* is used freely in a familiar way as a diminutive". He then wrongly mentions as an example wınək 'small window'; cf. our § 132 m.

[2]) cf. StE. *hillock, bullock, haddock (?), paddock* etc. Note the difference between hʌlək and StE. *hillock*. In the speech consciousness of Buchan speakers the connection will *hill* is (practically) lost; 'small hill' is expressed by *hillie* hıle.

[3]) According to modern speech feeling this is associated with nıv (also Grant p. 89, 91), since kni:vl (§ 132 d) no longer exists. The difference in the vowel could be accounted for (§ 59 Note), but not the initial.

[4]) Jamieson mentions Gael. *eireag,* but prefers the above etymology; EDD. (sub *earock*) merely refers for the dim. suffix *-ək* to Jakobsen, Norsk in Shetland (*a erək goose* 'a year old goose').

[5]) Reminiscent of and no doubt related to LG. *-ikin* HG. *-chen;* cf. MLG. *kindekîn,* MHG. *kindichîn* StG. *Kind-chen* or *manekin, Männ-chen.*

-er, -ster, OE. *-ere* m., *-estre* f. agent noun; phonetic forms see § 87.5.

(I) from verbs: θɪgɪr 'beggar', kʌupɪr 'horse-dealer', li:ᵊr 'liar', dʒəinɪr 'joiner', di:stɪr 'do-er', ʃu·stɪr 'sempstress'; cf. the proper name *Baxster* 'baker'. A cow is a mɪlkər, if being milked, ə sukər, if sucked by a calf, ə flɪŋɪr if it kicks, similarly ə boksər etc.

(II) from nouns: fleʃɛr 'butcher', bʌnstər 'one who binds sheaves', hedərər 'worker in heather', e.g. thatching, θʌkɛr 'thatcher', dəikɪr 'one who builds dikes', mʌlɛrt 'miller'.

Transferred to objects: kenlɪr 'kindling wood', sɑ·eɪr 'strainer', skʌmər after OFr. *escumoir* 'scummer', bri·dtrʌnʃər 'bread-trencher'; figurative: ə ri:vɪr (o ə fəiᵊr) 'a roaring fire', (hɪ got ə gəi) stervɪr 'chill'.

Words like mu·tɪr 'multure' (p. 128, Footnote 2), meljɪr *melder* (§ 130), toxɛr 'dowry' are not made of our suffix.

-ing, -ling denoting a person or thing belonging in some way to what is expressed by the simplex: kɪtlɛn ON. *ketling-r* 'kitten', gozlɪn ON. *gǽsling-r* 'gosling', lɪtlɛn OE. *lýtlinʒ* 'little child'[1]), hɑ·flɛn 'servant lad', wəiklɪn 'weakling', u·tlɪn 'a stranger', strɪplɛn (o ə lu·n) 'a youth'. Of things: legɪnz 'leggings'[2]), fɑrdɪn 'farthing'.

-ing OE. *-unʒ, -inʒ*, originally the ending of a few abstract nouns, then generalized and now known as gerund (§ 191ff.) and as such formed from any verb. We here note some nouns that have assumed concrete meaning: wɪnlɪn 'a bundle of straw', bɪgɪn 'building', e:ðrɪn 'plaiting rope' etc. § 193.

-el OE. *-el(e)* mostly with instrumental force[3]), e.g. bitl § 19, fetl § 35, fʌtl 'whittle', (cf. fəit 'to cut'), hʌnl 'handle', perhaps spʌrkl 'porridge stick'. brʌml (§ 63) is diminutive

---

[1]) lɪtlɛn may equally well be a contraction of *little een* 'little one' (cf. OED. sub *wean* [< *wee one*]; EDD.) but it is no longer felt as such; cf. also JG. 44 *she keepit a skweel for little littleanes.*

[2]) cf. G. *Däumling, Fingerling* 'finger stall'.

[3]) Quite common in G.; cf. Paul, D. Gramm. V § 46; less common in StE., e.g. *bridle, stile (< stiʒol), thimble* etc.

of bri·m (§ 18). hʌntḷ 'much, many' and ke·rtḷ 'cart-load' are different[1]); pʌkḷ is formed on analogy of mʌkḷ (cf. *'monie a puckle makes a muckle'*); the simple word *pick* 'small quantity of anything (not liquid)' is from Gaelic.

c) Adjective-forming.

§ 146. *-ed, -ie, -el, -er, -est.*

-ed OE. *-ede,* now identical in form with that of the weak pp. § 141, is added to nouns and generally preceded by a modifying word: 'fəit'hidɪt 'white-headed', 'smɑ:'bukit 'of small bulk', 'strɔŋ'bi·nt 'of strong bones'; 'here'muldɪt 'hoary with mould'; lʌgɪt bonet 'bonnet with ears', fʌu·r te:t gre·p 'four pronged fork'.

-ie OE. *-iʒ, -aʒ,* now identical in form with the dim. § 87. 1. nju:zi 'communicative', stu·ri 'dusty', mote sɑ:t s gwi·d ɪn'jux for here bʌtɛr 'stained salt is good enough for mouldy butter'.

-el, le OE. *-ol, -ul, -el* (pronounced ḷ § 115) is added to verbal stems and denotes 'apt or liable to do what the verb expresses': brʌkḷ OE. **brycel* (cf. *brecan*) 'brittle', smɪtḷ Scand. *smittol* (cf. OE. *smittian, smítan*) 'infectious', for'getḷ OE. *forʒitol* 'forgetful', 'kenspekḷ cf. ON. *kennispeki* 'easily recognizable'.[2])

There is no vb. from which kɪtḷ 'ticklish' might be derived. It now sounds identical with the vb. kɪtḷ ON. *kitla* 'tickle'.

-er, -est OE. *-ra, -ost* (modern variants § 87. 5, 6) are the endings of the inflectional comparison, e.g. bɪgər, bɪgɪst *bigger-biggest.*

---

[1]) No satisfactory explanation has been offered yet. In ke·rtl (and *spadle, seckle, platle, shippil,* all recorded by Grant p. 185, but, now at least, unknown in Buchan) the suffix looks like an alternate development of *-ful* > -fɪ (the living form; § 180). The change *-ful* > -l might have survived after stops and may have had the support of *muckle, puckle, rickle* 'loose heap', *mardle* 'heap, crowd', in fact it may be this very suffix, denoting quantity and may consequently be unconnected with *-ful.*

[2]) cf. StE. *nimble* OE. *numol* cf. *niman* 'to take'; *fickle, brittle.*

2. Declension.

The subject-object distinction is given up altogether, even with the interrogative-relative pronoun fɑ: (= *who, whom*), the personal pronoun alone keeping it up.

Nouns.

§ 147. The nominal inflection in Buchan has preserved 1 case ending, viz. *-s* OE. *-es* for the possessive (§ 138), 5 number signs, viz. *-r, -en, -s*, mutation, no ending.

The three endings have been dealt with §§ 136/8. The mutation plurals appear in the Buchan sound system as mɑn — men *man — men*, ʌmɛn — wɪmɪn *woman — women*, mu·s — mɘis *mouse — mice*, lu·s — lɘis *louse — lice*, fɛt — fit *foot — feet* and, as it happens (§§ 18, 26), with the distinction of number wiped out: gi·s *goose — geese*, tiθ *tooth — teeth*, e.g. ɘ se:r tiθ 'a sore tooth', ɑ: mɑ tiθ 'all my teeth'. We see the group of mutation nouns is the same as in StE.; it had been a class of its own in OE. (Sievers §§ 281, 283/4). Another member of this class has survived in Buchan ku:— kɑ·e OE. *cú — cý*, Chaucer *coo — kyne*[1]), StE. *cow — cows*.

A number of nouns show no change in the pl., a feature which is historical; they were str. neuter nouns in OE. (Sievers § 239. 1 b *β*): swɘin OE. *swín* 'swines', θɪŋ OE. *þinʒ* 'things', hors 'horses', ʃip 'sheep', nʌut cf. OE. *néat* 'cattle', i:r OE. *ʒeár* 'years', fʌuk OE. *folc* 'folk'. On their partly collective meaning and their usage, cf. § 172 f.

The OE. pl. *niht* and *mónað* (Sievers §§ 281, 284) have left some traces behind; cf. § 179 and tʌumɪn *twelvemonth*, fortnɪçt *fortnight*.

Note 1. The possessive, both sg. and pl., always sounds the same as the pl. in *-s*. With words that form their pl. without

---

[1]) With a double pl.-sign (mutation + analogical *-n*); cf. Mod. Icel. = ON. *kýr* nom., *kú* acc. sg., *kýr* nom. acc. pl.

-s, the gen. is, as in StE., distinct: manz *man's*, wɪmɪnz *women's*, mu·sɪz *mouse's*, horsez *horse's*.

Note 2. With double expression of the pl. by means of (ɪ) double endings: ʃi:rzɪz 'scissors', tjaŋzɪz 'tongs', belɛsɪz 'bellows' § 176; galɛsɪz 'braces' § 173; i·nɪz 'little eyes' cf. § 145; (ɪɪ) umlaut plus ending: brɪks OE. *bréc* pl. of *bróc* 'breeches', menez 'little men' etc. § 145.

Note 3. Conversely a secondary sg. form has been abstracted (from the more common pl.) in pertrɛk Lat. *perdrix* 'partridge', larɛk Lat. *larix* 'larch', korp Lat. *corpus* 'corpse'.

Note 4. A double pl. form is found with pəi 'pea' : pəiz, pɪz; kleθ 'cloth' : klɘiz, kle:z; nɪz 'nose' : nɪzɪz, no·zɪz (the latter after StE.); pene 'penny' : penez, pens. The last two are differentiated as in StE.: twɑ:'penez, 'tɪpɛns 'twopence'.

Adjectives.

§ 148. As in StE., adjectives are indeclinable. The only change left to them is the comparison in *-er*, *-est* (§ 146). As in all Scots (and English) dialects, these endings are not yet confined to adjectives of a certain structure. It is still as natural to say ðə 'ɑ:fɛəst 'the most awful' (Gl. 129), 'kapɪtlɛr 'more capital', 'de·səntɛr 'more decent', 'lɪçtsəmɛr 'lighter', as it is to say 'nereɛr 'narrower' or dipɪr 'deeper'. The comparison by adverb (me·r, mest) is less common. The following adjectives are compared irregularly:

ʌl	'bad'	wɑ:r § 41	warst
gwi·d	*good*	betɛr	best
le·t	*late*	le·tɛr	le·tɛst, lɑ·st
lɪt|	*little*	les	li·st [1])
mone	*many*	me:ər	me·st
mʌk|	*much*		
ni:ɪr	*near*	ni:rər	ni:rɪst, ni:st

[1]) Note le·st for Mintlaw and Upper Deeside (cf. § 20 Note 1); EDGr. has *lest* for ne.Scotland but *list* (i:) for Buchan, *lest, list* (i:) for Aberdeen.

Fully regular comparison [1]) has been noted with

fɑ:r	*far*	**fɑrɛr** [2])	**fɑrest**
ɑ:l	*old*	**ɑ·lɛr** [3])	**ɑlɛst**
mʌkl̩	'big'	**mʌklɛr**	**mʌklɛst.**

A number of adverbs and prepositions form adjectival superlatives by adding **-mɪst**, erroneously taken to be the sup. **me·st** (cf. the spelling *-most*) in a weakened form [4]). History proves it to be a double superlative *-m* + *-ist* (cf. OE. *forma, fyrm-est;* H. C. Wyld § 330.)

'ɪnmɪst	OE. *innemest*		'inmost (of a row)'
'benmɪst	**be-innemest*		'inmost (of a house)'
'utmɪst	OE. *ýtemest*	ME. *ūtmōst*	'the far one (of a row)'
'imɪst	OE. *ufemest, yfemest* [5])		'uppermost'
'formɪst	OE. *fyrmest*		'foremost, first'
'hɪmmɪst		Goth. *hindumists*	'hindmost, last' [6])
'neθmɪst	OE. *nīþemest*		'nethermost, lowest'
'tɑpmɪst			'topmost'.

We notice that the first element is always in its simple, basic form, whilst StE., after the (comp.) adverbs *after, nether* made *inner-, upper-, lower-most;* cf. G. *innerste, äußerste.* As independent comparatives occur **neðɪr** 'nether', **hɪnɪr** 'hinder', **ʌpɛr** 'upper'.

---

[1]) Comparatives like **hiçɪr, ɑ·lɛr** are restored analogically; OE. *hérra,* would now be ***hi:r**, OE. *eldra* became **eljɪr**.

[2]) This is not the historical form; the OE. comp. of *feor* was *feorra* and would now be **fɑ:r**. Our **fɑrɛr**, therefore, represents a double comp., as does **ni:rɪr** 'nearer', the comparative of **ni:r**, itself a comp., OE. *néarra* of pos. *néah,* which would have to be ***niç**.

[3]) The mutated form StE. *elder* OE. *eldra* survives but in the noun **eljɪr** 'an elder'; cf. § 130.

[4]) A reduction which is a priori not impossible; cf. **e:** > **ɪ** § 95.

[5]) Grant p. 111, EDD. sub *eemost* refer this word to OE. *ýmest* (§ 22). Our etymology meets with no difficulties according to § 18 and § 122. The evidence of the modern dialects south of Kincardine is missing but literary records of the 15th, 16th c. (cf. Jamieson sub *umast,* OED. sub *ovemest*) warrant the intermediate stage.

[6]) With good speakers **lɑ·st** is less common than **'hɪmmɪst**.

The Buchan forms of the numerals are:

iˑn	OE. *án*	§ 23;	fɪrst	OE. *fyrest*	§ 57
twɑː	OE. *twá*	§ 42;	sekɛnt		
θriː	OE. *þréo*	§ 19;	θɪrd	OE. *þridda*	§ 57
fʌuˑr	OE. *féower*	§ 70. 3;	fort	OE. *féorða*	§ 49
fɑˑev	OE. *fíf*	§ 66;	fɪft	OE. *fífta*	§ 59 a
sɑks	OE. *seax*	§ 45;	sɑkst	OE. *sixta*	
səivn̩	OE. *seofon*	§ 69. 1;	səivn̩t	OE. *seofoða*	
ɑxt	OE. *eahta*	§ 45;	ɑxt	OE. *eahtoða*	
nəin	OE. *niȝon*	§ 66;	nəint	OE. *niȝoða*	
teˑn	OE. *tíen*	§ 34 b;	tent	OE. *téoða*	
rˈləivn̩	OE. *enlefan*	§ 69. 1;	rˈləivn̩t	OE. *enlefta*	
twɑˑl	OE. *twelf*	§§ 46, 122;	twɑlt	OE. *twelfta*	
θɪrtiˑn[1])			θɪrtiˑnt		
fortiˑn			fortiˑnt		
fɪftiˑn			fɪftiˑnt		
sɑksteˑn			sɑksteˑnt		
səivn̩teˑn			səivn̩teˑnt		
ɑxteˑn			ɑxteˑnt		
nəinteˑn			nəinteˑnt		
twɪntɪ			twɪntɪət		
θɪrte			θɪrteət		
forte			forteət		
fɪfte			fɪfteət		
sɑkste			sɑksteət		
səivn̩ti			səivn̩tɪət		
ɑxte			ɑxteət		
nəinti			nəintɪət		
ə ˈhʌnɛr			hʌnɛrt		
twɑːˈhʌnɛr			twɑːˈhʌnɛrt		
θuːzɪn			θuːzɪnt		

The cardinal numerals shared the regular phonological changes discussed in the paragraphs marked against them. The ordinal numerals underwent other changes besides, viz.

[1]) The stress of the disyllables is falling.

analogical ones, particularly as regards their distinctive feature, the dental. The OE. equivalents show this dental to be ð or *t*, rarely *d*. This duplicity naturally did not enhance but lessen the functional value of the ending. The tendency towards a uniform suffix for ordinals resulted in t (except in θɪrd) being generalized in Buchan, as in the Northern dialects generally [1]), whilst in StE., θ spread at the expense of t. The reason why t won the day in the North may be the help it got from the Scan. forms *-nde* [2]) for the ordinals 7 to 10, so that the odds were against θ. The divergent representation in Buchan of *second* and *thousand* (§§ 129, 132 i) must be due to their function being different.

Note 1. There are two historical variants of i·n, each with functions of its own: e: (< *ā(n)* § 27) is the adjectival form; it lost its *n* before consonants; ən, ə (< shortened *an*) is the indefinite article. Unlike *a* in StE., ə may be used before both vowels and consonants: ə eks 'an axe', jɪl nɪvɪr get ɑ i·s fort 'you'll never find any use for it'; sɪkə i·sfə θɪŋ 'such a useful thing'; ə pri·n hɪznə ə i: 'a pin has no eye' [3]); but note J. Gibb: *an ouk at the Walls* 'a week at the wells'; *aw ran an eeran'* 'I ran an errand'.

Note 2. The numeral adverbs are i·ns 'once', twəis § 102, θri: təimz. The corresponding adjectives are ˈe:fa:l or sɪmpl̩, ˈtwa:fa:l or dʌbl̩, θri:fa:l etc. The fractional numerals are ha:f 'half', θɪrd, fort or kwɑrtɛr 'quarter'.

Pronouns.

§ 149. 1. Personal. We distinguish accented and weak forms according to function and the rhythmical position in the sentence.

---

[1]) cf. Wilson, C. Scotland p. 67; Wright, Windhill § 344; Reaney, Penrith § 484.

[2]) cf. Mod. Icel. *sjöundi, áttundi, níundi, tíundi . . . tólfti* (12th), *þrettándi*, with *d* pronounced unvoiced, rather like *t*.

[3]) Hiatus forms are specially common among children.

subj. form	accented	ɑˑe	ju, iː	hiː, ʃiː		ɪt, ɨt	wiː	ðeː
	weak	ɑ, ə, ʌ	jɪ, jɨ	hɪ, ɪ, ʃɪ		ɪt, t	wɪ, wə	ðe
obj. form	accented	miː	ju	hɨm	hɨr	ɪt, ɛt	hɪz, hʌz	ðem
	weak	mɨ, mə	jɪ, jɨ	(ɨ)m	(ɨ)r	ᵉt, t	z, s	ðəm

The accented forms come out in contrast or under emphasis generally; cf. the skit on Byth: ˈken jɪ ˈfɑː ðɑt mɨθ biː? ˈdiˑlə ken ˈɑˑe, ken ˈiː? 'Do you know who that [stranger] might be? The devil I know, do you?' ˈɑm ðə ˈleˑrd o ˈwɨdnɪz ˈfiˑl, ˈfɑːz fiˑl ɑrˈiː 'I'm the Lord of Udny's fool; whose fool are you?' JG. gɨn jɪ hɨd ðə meˑtɛn o ðəmz ˈɑˑe heː 'if you had to cook for them as I have'. dɨnə ˈiː lɑt on 'don't let anybody see'. seː dɪv ˈɑˑe 'so do I'.

The weak forms are reduced in bulk owing to lack of stress in proclitic and enclitic positions. ɑ ˈsɑːm 'I saw him', ˈfɑːrl̩ə ˈpɛt ɛt? 'where shall I put it?', fɑt ɪst? 'what is it?', ɪts neː ˈwʌrθt 'it is not worth it', ʌl diːt 'I'll do it'; cf. the contractions § 98 a, b. The enclitic object-pronouns of the 2nd and 3rd pl. are not so easily incorporated; but cf. ðɑt setʃɪ < setsjɨ 'that *sets*, suits you' (cf. § 117 Note).

Note 1. juː, historically the acc., is not, now, confined to the objective case, but to a special function: when used absolutely, e.g. in front of nouns (Note 3) and, though rarely, when emphasized. The neuter ɪt was, in OE., *hit*, and this has survived in the absolute use of jɪr hɨt 'you are it, i.e. the player caught'.

Note 2. *thoo* 'thou', still current in the North of England and several parts of Scotland even North of Aberdeenshire, e.g. the Black Isle (cf. Grant § 22), I never heard.

Note 3. The accented obj.-form is also that of the absolute usage.

2. Possessive.

accented	mɑˑe	juːr	hɪz	hɨr	ɨt, ɨts	uːr	ðeˑᵉr
unaccented	mɑ, mə	jɪr	hɪz, ɪz, z, s	hɨr, ɨr	ɨt, ɨts, t	wɨr, wər	ðer
absolute	məin	juːrz	hɪz	hɨrz	ɨts	uːrz	ðeˑᵉrz

Examples. ðats 'ma·e bjuk, ne: 'ju:rz 'that's my book, not yours'; 'fa:rz mə 'mɪðɪr? 'where's mother?', wɪ kud hardle si: wɪr fɪŋɪrz ə'fo·rz 'we could hardly see our fingers in front of us', ə ti:r kam tʌlər i: 'a tear came to her eye', tə get tʌlz bed 'to go to (his) bed', ə klap ont hi·d 'a clap on its head'.

Historically our possessive pronouns have arisen from the genitives of the personal pronouns. The only exception is the neuter, which had *his* (to distinguish it from the masculine) replaced by the nom. *it*[1]).

3. Reflexive.

Pers., identical: ma'se·l jɪr'se·l(z) hɪm'se·l hɪr'se·l ɪt'se·l wɪr'se·l(z) ðe·r'se·lz ðəm'se·l(z)

se·l may in all forms be replaced by li·n *(a)lone;* its meaning is 'I, you etc. alone'. In the pl. forms -z may or may not be heard.

The possessive reflexive is formed by adding the invariable e·ən on to the possessive. ma e·ən hu·s 'my own house', hɪz e·ən wəit 'his own fault'. The variant ne·ən is not confined to the 1st sg. ma-n-e·ən ME. *mīn āwen* whence, of course, it had arisen through wrong analysis. Note that ma e·ən with hiatus is just as or even more frequent; cf. § 148 Note 1.

4. Relative. The Buchan relative is ət, ᵊt (= *that* [§ 119] or more likely Scand. *at*) for any noun of reference. The determ.-relatives are fa: for persons and fat, fʌt for things. hɪ hardnə fat a sed 'he didn't hear what I said', a ken fa· jɪ mi·n 'I know whom you mean'.

5. Demonstrative. Unlike S. Scots and C. Scots, our dialect has no special forms for the pl.; it is (ð)at, ðɪs, jon hu·s but also husɪz 'that, those house(s)'. ðat, ðɪs may be used absolutely when neuter, otherwise they need the prop-word i·n(z) *one(s).*

---

[1]) In StE. this was turned into *its* by appending as early as 1600 the obvious possessive *-s;* cf. Bradley, 'The Making of English' p. 56.

The definite article *the*, originally the inflected demonstrative, has but one form ðə, no matter what the initial sound of the following word.

6. Interrogative. There are few interrogative forms in Buchan: fɑ: 'who, whom', fɑ:z 'whose', fɑt, fʌt 'what'. fʌlk for *which* is hardly heard; Buchan uses fʌtnə, when independent fʌtn̩i·n 'which one'. The medial n is intrusive on the pattern of sɪkən < *swilk kin*. 'fʌt'n̩i·n wʌl jɪ tɑk 'which one will you take?'.

3. Conjugation.

Strong Verbs.

§ 150. Strong verbs are so called because they form their pt. not by means of an ending, but by changing the radical vowel, e.g. sɪŋ-saŋ *sing-sang*. This vowel alternance is called ablaut or gradation, and the lines to which it keeps are called ablaut-series. In OE., we may say, there were seven of them, and they were quite regular, for it depended on the structure of the root of a verb which of them its ablaut was to follow. In course of time, mostly owing to subsequent phonetic changes, the boundaries between the seven classes were shifted, if they did not come down altogether. There was a regular exchange going on, some classes giving considerably more than they took. Some have come out stronger than they were before, others got so thoroughly shaken up that they are barely represented in the modern speech.

It is a frequent phenomenon in the history of strong verbs that the phonetic change of one of the principal forms of a verb causes this verb to leave its original class and to join another, viz. one that suits the new form better. The result of such desertion is that the other principal forms are brought into line with the newly adopted series.

In mustering the str. verbs of Buchan we shall not follow the historical course. We shall rather try to establish a regular system for the present state, and by basing it on

the seven classes of OE. we shall be able to show the provenance of the new members of a class, pointing out the possible reasons that led to the transition. This course seems justified since regularity has been the chief attraction in changing classes.

Of the seven classes of OE., three, viz. 1, 3, 7 have preserved their traditional character very well, whilst the others have experienced much shuffling and shifting. The reason is clear: the first group of classes have exclusive vowels (ɑ·e, əi; ŋ, m; ɑ:, au) and particular consonantal frames (cf. § 153 Note) on which analogy could have no hold; with the other classes the vowels, in Buchan, all converged in i:, ɪ, ɑ.

Preliminary Notice: Stopping (§ 74) will be expressed in the script but not remarked upon. The alternations ɑ·e/əi § 65, ɪ/ɪ § 56 are taken for granted. Verbs marked * have also been heard weak and are treated again in § 164. To be able to conjugate a verb it is necessary and therefore customary to state the three (in OE. four) stem-forms: inf., pt. (in OE. sg. and pl.), pp.

Class I.

§ 151.

OE.	*ī*	*á*	*ă*	*ĭ*
MSc.	*ī*	*ā*	*i*	*i*
Buchan	ɑ·e + z, v əi + d, t	e: or i:		ɪ ɪ

ɑ·e	e:	ɪ		rɑ·ez		re:z	rɪzn̩	rise
əi	e·	ɪ		bəid		be·d	bɪdn̩	bide
			similarly	rəid ride,	sləid slide,	strəid stride,	həid	hide
əi	e·	ɪ		bəit		be·t	bɪtn̩	bite
			similarly	ʃəit cacare,	rəit write,	wəit wait,	swəit*	sweat
ɑ·e	i:	ɪ		drɑ·ev		dri:v	drɪvn̩	drive
			similarly	θrɑ·ev thrive,		rɑ·ev tear,	strɑ·ev	strive
əi	i:	ɪ		wəiv		wi:v	wɪvn̩	weave.

Note 1. The consonants following the radical vowel are only four: z, v, d, t, the verbs *shine* and *strike* having left this class.

The vowel of the inf. is regular §§ 66, 68.7; the əi of swəit, wəiv is local § 69.1; so is, therefore, their adherence to cl. I[1]). Our wit—we·t—wɪtn̩[2]) 'wet' for the same reason wavers between cl. I and cl. IVB; similarly our obsolete vrit, whose vowel no longer conforms with cl. I has adapted itself to cl. IVB. It remains in this class as rəit—re·t—rɪtn̩, forms recorded in other Scots dialects[3]).

The vowel of the pt. is regularly e: § 27; the i: is from *ĭ-* of the pl. § 21a. The i: in wi:v[4]) 'wove' may be due to the transfer to cl. I, but it might be the OE. pl. form *wéfon* (cl. V) or, finally, go back to an analogical ME. pret. pl. *wǭven* > wi:v § 18[5]).

In the pp. wəit 'wait', swəit 'sweat' and wi·t 'wet' have the variant ʌ, brought about by w- § 63.

The pt. of *hide* has, on Deeside, a curious by-form ho·d (after cl. II?; cf. J. G. 215 *hodd'n* pp.), which at Byth may be heard as a pp. used by children when hidden in playing 'hide an' seek'.

Note 2. The diversity of the four variant series (against the one in OE.) has not destroyed the individuality and formative strength of the class. Of the sixteen members seven have joined later while nine have survived from OE. This is a comparatively small proportion (Sievers § 382

---

[1]) cf. Wilson, C. Scotland *sweet—swat* (but Lowland Scotch swəit—swat) after cl. IVB.

[2]) cf. Wilson, C. Scotland *weet—wat*, Lowland Scotch wi·t—wat after cl. IVB.

[3]) Murray, S. Scotland has *wreyte—wrayt—wrytn*, i. e. regular forms of cl. I. Wilson for Perth has rəit, re·t, but for C. Scotland rəit, rɪt, rɪtn.

[4]) The vb. *weave* is, strange to say, not recorded by Wilson, Grant nor Reaney.

[5]) This is supported by Murray's *weive—wuive—wuvn* (which would be in Buchan wi:v—wi:v—wʌvn) and 16th c. forms like *buir* 'bore' (P. Müller p. 132).

records some 55 for OE.). But it is a common feature of the Germanic dialects to give up a large number of their str. verbs. In our lists of gains and losses drawn up for each class we shall therefore register those losses only that may claim our interest, specially on comparison with StE.

On comparing with OE. we note as

gains from (I) outside: ðrɑ·ev ON. *prífa-sk* str., rɑ·ev ON. *rífa* str., strɑ·ev OFr. *estriver*, all three str. vbs. in ME.

(II) other classes: wəiv OE. *wefan* cl. V.

(III) the wk. class: wəit OFr. *waitier* StE. *wait*, swəit OE. *swǽtan* StE. *sweat*, həid OE. *hýdan*, pt. *hýdde* StE. *hide;* sharing with cl. IV B and the group of wk. verbs § 168 wit OE. *wǽtan* pt. *wǽtte* StE. *wet.*

losses to (I) other classes: *strike* cf. cl. IV B.

(II) the wk. class: *shine.*

Class II.

§ 152.

OE.	*éo*	*éa*	*u*	*o*	
MSc.	ē̤	ē̤	ō̤	ō̤	
Buchan	i:	i:		o: / ʌu	
	fri:z	fro:z		fro·zn̩	freeze
	kli:v			klo·vn̩	cleave
	ʃit	ʃot		ʃot	shoot
	fli:	flu:		flʌun	fly.

These remains are too scanty and varied to admit of the establishing of a system. The vowel of the inf. is regular § 19; that of the pt. is from the pp. The u: of *flew* OE. *fléah* is analogical after gru: etc. cl. VII B, with which it has the vowel of the pp. in common. The ʌu of *flown* is regular § 70.3 ʃot must be secondary (StE.?).

Gains : none. Losses to str. cl. *creep* § 155; to the wk. cl. *lose, choose, seethe, dree, lee* 'to tell lies', *flee* and (as in StE.) all those that had *ú* in the present.

Class III A.

§ 153.

	OE.	*ĭ*	*a*	*ŭ*	*ŭ*	
	MSc.	*i*	*a*	*u*	*u*	
	Buchan	ɪ, ɨ	a or ʌ		ʌ	
1)	ɨ a ʌ	rɨn	ran	rʌn	run	
	similarly	*spin, begin*, win.*				
2)	ɨ ʌ ʌ	wɨn[1]), wʌn	wʌn (-a-)	wʌn	dry corn	
3)	ɪ a ʌ	fɪn	fan	fʌn	find	
	similarly	*bind, wind, grind*×.				
4)	ɪ a ʌ	sɪŋ	saŋ	sʌŋ	sing	
	similarly	*sling, fling, cling, ring, swing, string, spring*× tr., intr., drɪŋ beat, vrɪŋ wring, hɪŋ hang tr., intr., sɪŋ singe.				
5)	ɪ a ʌ	drɪŋk	draŋk	drʌŋk(ŋ)	drink	
	similarly	*sink, slink**.				

Note 1. The consonants following the radical vowel are n (= *n, nd*), ŋ. The vowel of the inf. is regular §§ 56, 57; the variant wʌn is due to w § 63. The vowel of the pt. is generally that of the sg., viz. a; the ʌ, the quality corresponding to the pl. *u*, was heard[2]) as the only form in wɨn (2) and alongside a in the words marked×[3]). The pp. has regular ʌ § 62; the *-en* is wanting, cf. § 143.

---

[1]) This seems to be a semantic contamination of *win* in the sense of 'get, gather' and *wind* in the sense of 'expose to the wind'.

[2]) In StE. the field is divided between æ and ʌ, there being now 10 with æ and 11 with ʌ. For long the two vowels competed with each other; ʌ in the 18th c. appeared to oust æ altogether. The StE. examples of (3) have au, the regular representative of the pl. *u* lengthened.

[3]) grʌn is more common than gran; the tr. vb. sprɪŋ always has ʌ, e. g. ðə miˑˈr sprʌŋ ə mʌsl 'the mare strained a muscle'.

The wk. pt. bɪ'gud 'began' is historical; cf. ME. *begouðe, begoude* OHG. *bigonda.*

Owing to the particular structure of the vbs. of this class the gains and losses are all from and to the wk. class; cf. StE. *ring, fling.*

Gains: sɪŋ[1]) OE. *senʒean* 'singe', dɪŋ ON. *dengja* 'strike', hɪŋ ON. *hengja* tr., wɪn 'dry corn'.

Losses: *swim, sting, stink* § 163; *shrink* is wanting.

Note 2. Class IIIB is broken up: feçt has joined cl. IVA, bʌrst the mixed cl., *help* and others have become weak § 163.

Class IVA.

§ 154.

OE. (Anglian)	*ĕ*	*æ*	*é*	*ŏ*	
MSc.	*ę̄*	*a*	*ę̄*	*ǭ*	
Buchan	i:	a or i:		o	
1) i: o: o·	bi:r	bo:ər	bo·rn	bear	
similarly *tear, wear, swear**.					
2) e o o	get	got	gotɲ	get	
	feçt	foxt	foxɲ	fight	

Note: The vowel of the present stem is normal in 1; cf. § 20; in 2 OE. *ĕ* remained. The regular pt. gat is remembered by old people, while *bar, *bi:r are unknown; the modern vowel of the pt. is analogical after the pp. The pt. swo:ər is not from OE. *swór* (cl. VI), which would be su:r § 50.

Gains: wi:r OE. *werian* wk., swi:r OE. *swerian* cl. VI, get OE. *ʒietan* cl. V; feçt OE. *feohtan* cl. IIIB.

Losses: *shear* § 163; *steal* § 163; *come* § 155.

---

[1]) C. Scotland has sŋɪt pp. *singed.*

Class IV B.

§ 155. This class did not exist in OE. It is made up of new-comers from various other str. classes. Their common features are a—ʌ and the tenues following. The a—ʌ ablaut is that of cl. III, but the consonantal frame is different, as also the vowel of the present stem. The a and the tenues would fit into cl. V B, not, however, i: and ʌ, which is really alien to that class. These verbs have been gathered under this heading because four of them have not only the structure of cl. IV, but also i:—a, the historical vowels for present and pt.

i:	a	ʌ	grit	grat	grʌtn̩	cry
			krip*	krap	krʌpm̩	creep
			vrit	vrat	vrʌtn̩	write
			wit*	wat	wʌtn̩	wet
ɪ	a	ʌ	strɪk	strak	strʌkŋ	strike
			stɪk	stak	stʌkŋ	stick
ʌu	a	ʌ	lʌup*	lap	lʌpm̩	leap
ʌ	a	ʌ	kʌm	kam	kʌm	come

Note 1. It is not easy to trace the history of this heterogeneous group, so much of it being analogical. The infinitives are all (except vri't OE. *wrítan* cf. § 22) historical; lʌup has the vowel from Scand. § 70. The a of the pt., on the other hand, must be analogical throughout: neither OE. *ʒréat, créap*[1]) cl. II nor *wrát, strác* cl. I or *hlép* Scand. *hljóp* would have yielded a; *wet* and *stick* had no ablaut in OE. The ʌ of the pp. is analogical too; only with vrʌtn̩, strʌkŋ, wʌtn̩, stʌkŋ it may regularly stand for an historical ɪ § 63; for lʌpm̩ Scand. *hluppen* has been adduced (cf. Ekwall Angl. Bbl. 21. 53); grʌtn̩ and krʌpm̩, however, can only be accounted for if we assume that the pl. *ŭ-* (provided that *greet* goes back to OE. *ʒréotan* cl. II, not *ʒrǽtan* cl. VII)

[1]) OE. *céap-mon* > tʃap is not analogous, since *éa* in this case suffered shortening owing to the double consonant.

got into the pp. It is quite obvious that a and ʌ had come to be the respective representative vowels for the pt. and pp. of a verb of the *ĭ* base § 162. Which of the two had been adopted first is hard to say.

Note 2. The verb kʌm kam kʌm 'come', though a native of cl. IV, has never quite agreed with the vowels of this class (cf. H. C. Wyld § 361). Our inf. and pp. may be the direct descendants of ME. *cŭmen* (OE. *cŭman, cŭmen* pp.) or they may have passed through *cǭmen* (§ 60 Note 1). The pt. does not continue OE. *cwóm(on)* but is analogical.

Class V A.

§ 156.

OE. (Anglian)	*ĕ-*	*æ*	*é*	*ĕ-*
MSc.	*ę̄*	*a*	*ę̄*	*ę̄*
Buchan	i:, e:	a, i:		i:, e:

The coalescence of three of the principal forms in i: would naturally lead to analogical interference. The OE. regularity is now entirely destroyed, and from a modern point of view these verbs would hardly be grouped together.

1.	i:	ɑ:	i:	si:	sɑ:	si·n	see
2.	i:	e:	i:	gi:	ge:*	gi·n	give
3.	ɑ·e	e:*	ɑ·e	lɑ·e	le:	lɑ·en	lie
4.	e:	e	e:, e	e·t	et*	e·tn̩, etn̩	eat
5.	i:	a	o	spik	spak	spokŋ	speak

Note: The vowel of the inf. is regular in 1, 2, 5, in its variant form (§ 20 Note 1) in 4; the vowel of 3 is from the 2nd, 3rd sg. (§ 66). The vowel of the pt. is that of the sg. in 5 and (with influence of the spirant) in 1, 3; the vowel of the pl. (in its Scand. form *á*, cf. § 27) survives in 2 and perhaps in 4, although the short e is not properly explained. The more common pt. form of *to give* is weak, viz. gɪd (for *gi:d). The vowel of the pp. is regular in 1, 2 and 4 (with the unlengthened variant), analogical after cl. IV in 5, after its inf. in 3 (cf. the 16th c. *lyin* pp., P. Müller p. 133).

Class V B.

§ 157. The original verbs of this class differed from V A in the present stem only, which showed the influence of a following *j* (cf. OE. *etan—sittan*).

	OE. (Anglian)	*ĭ*	*æ*	*é*	*ĕ-*	
	MSc.	*i*	*a*	*ę̄*	*ę̄*	
	Buchan	ɪ ɨ	a, i:		i:	
ɪ a ɪ		bɪd	bad	bɪdn̩		bid
ɨ a ɨ, ʌ		sɨt	sat	sɨtn̩, sʌtn̩		sit
	similarly	*spit, hit, put.*				

Note: The vowel of the inf. is normal § 56/7; the pt. has adopted the vowel of the sg., the pp. (already in ME.; cf. *bidden* beside *beden*) that of the present; the variant ʌ is according to § 63.

Gains from the wk. class: spɨt OE. *spittan*, hɨt ON. *hitta*, pɨt ME. *putten*.

Class VI.

§ 158.

	OE.	*a*	*ó*	*ó*	*a*	
	MSc.	*a*	*ǭ*	*ǭ*	*a*	
	Buchan	ɑ	i:, u:		ɑ	
1. ɑ i: ɑ		waʃ	wiʃ	waʃn̩		wash
		θraʃ	θriʃ	θraʃn̩		thresh
		kast	kist	kasn̩		cast
2. e i: e		fes	fis [1])	fesn̩		fetch
3. ɑ u: ɑ		lɑx	lux	lɑxn̩		laugh
		ʃak	ʃuk	ʃakŋ		shake
		tak	tuk	ti·n		take
		brak	bruk	brokŋ		break

[1]) On Upper Deeside fu·ʃ, fʌʃn may be heard besides fi·ʃ, feʃn.

Note 1. The consonants after the vowel are ʃ, s or k, x. The vowel of the infinitive is normal in waʃ, kast, lax; for tak, ʃak cf. § 45, for θraʃ, brak § 46. The vowel of the pt. is historical: i before dental spirants (§ 18), u before gutturals § 50; θriʃ and bruk are analogical, following the passage of the infinitives to this class; kist and fis also are secondary. The pp. of this class has always had the same vowel as the inf. Of the verbs that did not belong to this class originally, kast (wk.) always had a in the pp., θraʃ (cl. IIIB, OE. *þorscen*) adopted a for *o*, while brak (cl. IV, ME. *broken*) has retained its o. fesn̩ keeps the e of the inf.; ti·n is local for Scots te·n < ME. *tān(e)* (§ 23).

Gains from wk. cl. kast ON. *kasta*, fes OE. *fetian*.
str. cl. θraʃ cl. IIIB, brak cl. IV.

Losses: *draw* now cl. VII, *swear* now cl. IVA, *heave*, *shave* § 163, *waken*, *spane* 'wean' and others.

Note 2. The vb. sta·n—sti·d—sti·d OE. *standan—stód—standen* in spite of its *-n-* always belonged to this class. As in StE. (and already in ME.) the pt. *stood* ousted the pp. *standen*.

Class VIIA.

§ 159.

OE.	*á*	*éow*	*éow*	*á*	
MSc.	*ā*	*ēu*	*ēu*	*ā*	
Buchan	a:		ju:	a:	
	bla:(v)	*bláwan*	blu:	bla:n	blow
	θra:	*þráwan*	θru:	θra:n	twist
	ʃa:v	*sáwan*[1])	ʃu:(v)	ʃa:vn̩	sow
	kra:*	*cráwan*	kru:	kra:n	crow
	ʃa:v	ME. *sawen*	ʃu:	ʃa:vn̩, sa:n	saw
	dra:	*draʒan*	dru:	dra:n	draw
	tʃa:*	*céowan*	tʃu:	tʃa:n	chew
	tja:v*	*tawian* (§ 123)	tju:v	tja:vn̩	labour

[1]) On Deeside sa:, ʃu:, sa:n for *to sow*.

Note: The consonant, if any, after the vowel is v (< *w*) § 123 (n). The vowel of the inf. is regular for OE. *-áw-*, *-aʒ-* § 39, that of the pt. for OE. *éow*, *óʒ* § 53; analogical are tʃu: OE. *céaw* cl. II and the originally wk. vbs. ʃu: 'sawed', tju:v. The vowel of the pp. is that of the inf. and is historical with all except tʃa:n OE. *cowen* cl. II. The pt., pp. of tʃa: and the pp. of kra: may be heard wk. § 164.

Class VII B.

§ 160.

OE.	*ów*		*éow*	*éow*	*ów*
MSc.	*ǭu*		*ēu*	*ēu*	*ǭu*
Buchan	ʌu		ju:		ʌu
	grʌu	*ʒrówan*	gru:		grʌun grow
	mʌu	*máwan*			mʌun mow

Note: There is nothing irregular in this class, except that we should expect *máwan* to follow VII A § 70. 2[1]). The vb. θro:, θru:, θro·n 'throw' is imported from StE. and now exists beside its Scots brother θra: § 159 with the secondary, Southern meaning[2]) 'to fling', which it assumed already in ME.

Class VII C.

§ 161. Beside the two preceding groups of reduplicated preterites in *-éow-* there are two left with *-éol-* and one with *-é-*, the others like *read, sleep, dread* having become weak as in StE.

OE. (Anglian)	*fallan*	*féoll*	*féollon*	*fallen*
Buchan	fa:	fe·l		fa:n fall
	had	hi·ld		hadn̩ hold

[1]) Penrith has θrau like grau and mo: like blɔ:.

[2]) Note the parallel change of meaning in Swiss G. rʏərə *rühren* stir, turn > throw, also as old as MHG.? cf. Idiotikon VI 1252/8.

Note: For the inf. cf. §§ 115, 130; the vowel of fe·l is shortened ME. *ę̄* re-lengthened § 34a. In hi·ld the vowel has remained long § 19, but the -d has been added analogically § 130.

OE. (Anglian)	*létan*	*lét*	*léton*	*léten*	let
Buchan	lɑt	lit or lut		lɑtn̩	

Note: The regular development would have resulted in one form lit for all four. The ɑ-forms are the result of shortening (§ 45b) of Scand. *láta* or OE. *lætan* § 46 Note 2. The alternative pt. lut is probably after cl. VI (§ 158), with which the verb has the inf. and pp. in common.

The Ablaut-Series for Modern Buchan.

§ 162.		Inf.	Past Tense	Past Part.	
I.		əi[1]) ɑ·e	e:, i:	ɪ ɨ	*ī*-basis
II.		i:	o:	o:	*i/e*-basis
III.		ɪ ɨ	a (ʌ)	ʌ	
IV.	A.	i:, e	o:, o	o	
	B.	i:, ɨ	a	ʌ	
V.	A.	i:, e:	e:, a	i:, e, o	
	B.	ɪ ɨ	a	ɪ ɨ ʌ	
VI.		ɑ	i: u:	ɑ	*a*-basis
VII.	A.	ɑ:	u:	ɑ:	reduplicated basis.
	B.	ʌu	u:	ʌu	
	C.	ɑ(:)	i:, u:, e·	ɑ(:)	

The strongest and steadiest classes and, thanks to their numerous and uniform memberships the only vital classes are I, III, VI, VII A. Their specific structures prevented their members from being transferred to other classes than the wk. That is how cl. III alone has survived so well within the *i/e* basis. We have grouped a number of verbs

[1]) Symbols not separated by commas represent mere phonetic variants as demanded by the consonantal frame.

under the new classes IV B and V B because they supplement cl. III on the vital a — ʌ alternance, being made up of verbs of the *i*/*e* basis that have no nasal after the stem-vowel. The other three classes of the *i*/*e* basis are maintained by small groups and isolated members. The diversity of variants in cl. V A e.g. testifies to the revolutions they have come through. They are relics, as are the members of VII C; cf. the list of receptions from the wk. class § 163.

§ 163. a) wk. > str. Our accounts of the gains and losses show that the transfers were not merely among the various str. classes. There has been an even more frequent exchange between the str. and wk. groups. The following is a table of 18 verbs that have found their way into the str. classes. Their assignment to the different sequences is, incidentally, an indication of the vitality and assimilating power of the various ablaut-series.

I	II	III	IV A	IV B	V A	V B	VI	VII
*strive**		*hing*	*wear**	*stick**		*spit**	*cast*	*saw*
hide		*singe*		*wet*		*hit*	*fetch*	*tyauve*
sweat		*ding*				*put*		
wait		*win*						

The verbs marked * are also str. in StE., the others are either wk. or else unknown in StE. The vb. *rot* has a str. pp. rotn̥, which is, however, confined to the adjectival use.

b) str. > wk. (cf. § 164). In all Germanic dialects the exodus from the str. classes to the weak has been greater than vice versa. The following is a select[1]) list of originally str. vbs.

[1]) In this as in the previous lists of losses we have naturally refrained from noting all the str. vbs. of OE. (cf. Sievers § 382ff.) that are now either weak (e.g. *bow, brew, rue, reek, lie, suck, shove, waken, bake, spane* 'wean', *sleep, sweep* etc.) or else wanting in the language altogether.

Still str. in StE.			Also wk. in StE.		
cl.	in OE.	pt. (pp.)	cl.	in OE.	pt. (pp.)
I	*scínan*	ʃi·n-t	IIIA	*climban*	klɪm-t*
	smítan	smɪt-ɛt*	IIIB	*helpan*	hɪlp-ɪt
II	*céosan*	tʃɑ·ez-t		*meltan*	mɪlt-ɪt
III	*stincan*	stɪŋk-ɪt		*swellan*	swɑ·l-t
	stinʒan	stɑŋ-t		*beorstan*	bʌrst*
	swimman	swi·m-t*		*steorfan*	ste·rv-t
IV	*stelan*	sti·l-t*	VI	*hebban*	he:v-d*
	scieran	ʃi:r-t		*scafan*	ʃe:v-d*
VI	*swerian*	swi:r-t*	VII	*máwan*	mʌud*

The vbs. marked* have isolated str. forms left; cf. § 164.

It is not fully correct to identify these wk. verbs in all cases with the OE. str. verbs set against them. Some have been weak to begin with but have taken the place and functions of the str. verbs. Our lo:z 'lose' represents OE. *losian* (§ 47) but stands syntactically for the str. vb. *léosan*. Our slɪt continues OE. *slítan* (cl. I) in sense only, formally it represents ME. wk. *slĭtten* (§ 166); similarly smɪt OE. *smittian* with the exception that the str. vb. *smítan* survives in the str. pp. (§ 164). ʃi·n, a wk. vb. to the adj. *sheen* has usurped the place of *shine* (§ 22). tʃɑ·ez, the Fr. *choisir* (§ 67), has replaced *choose*[1]) and staŋ no doubt represents ON. wk. *stanga* (§ 45).

Mixed Verbs.

§ 164. In the lists of str. vbs. (§§ 151/9) and of str. vbs. become wk. (§ 163 b) some verbs are marked with an asterisk to denote that some of their forms are (also) weak or strong respectively. We may group them together as mixed verbs.

[1]) Buchan has nothing corresponding to StE. *choose, chose, chosen.* EDGr. with its exclusive tʃu:z, tʃo:zn and tʃɑ·ez for the noun entirely misrepresents the facts.

a) mostly heard str., but also and, unless marked*, only heard wk.			b) mostly heard wk. § 163b but also and, unless marked*, only heard str.		
	pt.	pp.		pt.	pp.
orig. str.	slɪŋkɪt	slɪŋkɪt*	orig. str.		bʌrsn̩
	kripit*	kripit*			smɪtn̩*
		lʌupit*		swɑ·m*	
	e·tet*	e·tet*		klɑ·m*	
	swi:rt*	swi:rt*			stʌuᴵn
		kra:d*			ʃe:vn̩*
	tʃa:d*	tʃa:d*			he:vn̩, ho:vn̩
orig. wk.	swəitit*	swəitit*			mʌun
	witit*	witit*			
	tja:vd*	tja:vd*			
	haŋt*	haŋt*	orig. wk.		rotn̩*

The instances of b) show that the transition str. > wk. was more consistently (and first?) carried through in the pt. The pp. often retained the *-en* in the adjectival use[1]): ðə ku:z ho:vn̩ 'the cow is swollen', smɪtn̩ 'infected', ʃe:vn̩ 'shaven', klo·vn̩ hɪv 'cloven hoof'; he:vn 'thrown from the horse'.

Weak Verbs.

§ 165. The three OE. classes of wk. vbs. were levelled under two classes in ME. (one with the pret. ending *-de*, the other with *-ede*) and subsequently united in one. This is the present-day regular class, which forms its pt. by adding *-ed* (for its pronunciation cf. § 141) to the unaltered base or stem. Quite a number of wk. vbs., however, require special mention, either because the dental ending no longer shows (§ 166) or because the base in the pt. suffered change at some stage of the language (§§ 167/169). The modern classification, therefore, again arrives at three classes — regular, invariable, modified — only it is not based on the endings as in OE. This description

[1]) cf. StE. *carven, molten, graven, laden.*

also holds for StE., from which our dialect only differs in details. Taken as a whole these indicate a tendency towards the regular group; cf. the following paragraphs.

§ 166. Invariable Verbs: one form for pres., pt., pp.

The verbs of this group have stems in *-d, -t* and added, in OE., the ending without a middle vowel, e.g. *hręddan hrędde* (Sievers § 401): red—red 'clear, put right', lod—lod 'load', kled—kled 'clothe', spred—spred 'spread', splɪt 'split', slɪt 'slit' ME. *slitten*, plet 'plait', set OE. *sette* 'set'[1]); kost 'cost'.

The vowels of the forms of kled and spred respectively have not always been the same. The short e of the present (OE. *sprædan*, ON. *klæða*) must be analogical after the pt. OE. *sprædde*, ON. *klædd-r* with shortening §§ 36 c, 77 a; the genuine forms of *spread* are spri·d (§ 20 Note 1) spred[2]).

Note the regular forms kʌt-et 'cut', hʌrt-et 'hurt'.

§ 167. Modified Verbs (primary). A certain number of wk. verbs in OE. are characterized by having umlaut in the present but no umlaut, i.e. "Rückumlaut", in the pt. (Sievers § 407), e.g. OE. *sęllan-salde*. Several of the survivals of this class have preserved this feature in Buchan.

tel—ta:l 'tell-told', brɪŋ—broxt 'bring', θɪŋk—θoxt 'think', sik—soxt 'seek', ba·e—boxt 'buy', wʌrk—vroxt 'work', klik—klaxt 'seize'.

The following verbs have given up the vowel-change and become fully regular: sel—selt 'sell', titʃ-t 'teach', dwa·l-t 'dwell', strik 'stretch', θik 'thatch'. telt (§ 58 b) is now commoner than ta:l 'told'; katʃ-t 'catch', a Romance word, seems never to have joined this class in our dialect[3]).

§ 168. Modified Verbs (secondary). The following two groups are based on a vowel-change which is, historically,

---

[1]) Clariodus rimes *set* and *plet*, the two pp.'s (Curtis § 157).

[2]) Wilson for Perth has unlevelled kli·d—kled.

[3]) Wilson for Perth: katʃ—kytʃ (i.e. str. cl. VI) but pp. katʃt.

entirely different. What now looks a qualitative change mostly, used to be one of quantity. It developed in OE. through shortening in front of the double consonants of the past; the quality thereby was not affected (cf. § 77 a), e.g. *métan – mētte* > *mēten – mĕtte*. Subsequent changes led to the modern alternance i: - e as in mit – met 'meet – met', hit – het 'heat-ed' [1]), wit – wet OE. *wǽtan* 'wet-ted' (cf. §§ 151, 155). Analogically bit – bet 'beat' from cl. VII.

The OE. types *lǽdan – lǽdde* and *fédan – fédde* continue as li·d – led 'lead', fi·d – fed 'feed', similarly *bleed, breed,* ri·d – red 'read', and (analogically?) θri·d – θred 'thread'.

The shortened forms have not survived with verbs ending in *-p:* kipit, kripit (§§ 155, 164), slipit (§ 161) swəipit against StE. *kept, crept, slept, swept;* cf. also witit 'wetted' [2]).

§ 169. The same or similar changes may be seen with stems in non-stop consonants.

li:v—left OE. *lǽfan—lǽfte* 'leave—left', lo:z—lost 'lose' [3]); təin – tınt ON. *týna – týndi* (§ 59 a) 'lose'; ʃi: – ʃod ME. *schōn – schodde* 'shoe – shod', analogically se: – sed ME. *seien – seide* 'say'.

hi:r – hard, he·rd OE. *híeran – híerde*, ME. *hēren – hĕrde* 'hear – heard' has two forms for the pt., both of which (he·rd also) may be historical according to § 46 and § 31 b respectively. he·rd might be StE. *heard* (hə:d) in Buchan dress; but Wilson has *herd* for Lothian, *hard* for Perth and Fife.

Unshortened and regular are mi·n-t 'mean-t', dri·m-t 'dream-t', li·n-t 'lean-ed', di·l-t 'deal-t'.

Note: The Buchan type se·n – se·nt OE. *sendan – sende* must not be put on a level with StE. *send – sent*, whose -t is not clear. In Buchan, se·nt is the ordinary pt. form

---

[1]) cf. W. Franz, Shakespeare-Grammatik[3] § 159.

[2]) cf. the 16th c. spellings *kepit, slepit* (P. Müller p. 134).

[3]) This verb is of the 2nd OE. wk. cl. and formed its pt. with a middle vowel: *losode* > *losede* > regular *lo:zd.

(§ 141) of the inf. se·n 'send', as spe·nt is of spe·n OE. *spanan* 'to wean' or le·nt of le·n OE. *lǽnan – lǽnde* 'lend'. Similarly be·n-t 'bend', but also me·n-t 'mend-ed', mǝin-t 'mind-ed'. The same with -l, e.g. fɑ:l-t 'fold-ed', skɑ:l-t 'scold-ed'.

Minor Groups.

§ 170. The following verbs have been reserved for this section because their forms are anomalous. At the same time some are defective and auxiliary in their functions.

Be bi:, wɪz, wɑr, bi·n, bin, bm (§ 59b).

The verb *to be* is conjugated as follows:

Present

ɑ·e ɑm	ɑm [1])	wɪ	wɪr
hɪ, ʃɪ ɪz	hɪz, ʃɪz	jɪ } ɑ:r	jɪr
ɪt'ɪz	ɪts	ðe·	ðer

Preterite

ɑ	wɪz	wɪ	wʌr, wɑr, wǝr
hɪ, ʃɪ, ɪt		jɪ	
jɪ		ðe·	

For the negative form add ne:, nǝ, e.g. hɪ'ɪznǝ or with different accentuation hɪz'ne: 'he is not', ðe· 'wʌrnǝ 'they were not'. The subjunctive has but one form gɪn ɑ, hɪ, ðe bi: 'if I etc. be'.

Interrogative.

fu· 'ɑmǝ?	am I?	wɪz ɑ·e, wɪzǝ?	was I?
'ɑ·rjɪ?	are you?	wɪz jɪ?	were you?
'ɪzɪ, ɪʃɪ, ɪst?	is he? etc.	wɪzɪ, wɪʃɪ, wɪzt?	was he?
'ɑ·r wɪ, -jɪ, -ðe?	are we? etc.	wʌr wɪ, -jɪ, -ðe?	were we?

[1]) For the unemphatic, contracted forms, cf. § 98a.

To the negative interrogative wɪz-nə-jɪ? 'weren't you?', wɪznə i? 'wasn't he?' etc. there are alternative forms with inserted n, e.g. wɪznən jɪ? etc. (cf. § 113) and syllabic n, e.g. wɪzn̩-jɪ? To the latter (and this would apply to the former too), Murray p. 216 attributes a special meaning and functional value; he calls it the suasive form, because it "insinuates an expectation of what the answer should be". It may be said that ordinarily this distinction is neither made nor felt.

Note: ɪz, ɑ:r (§ 41) are the regular development from ME. *is*, pl. *ar(en)* < OE. *earon;* the pt. wɪz (wʌz) is ME. *was* unstressed, wɑr (wʌr, wər) is ME. *wer(en)* (§ 46c), unstressed variant of *wēren*. The pp. bi·n, bin is ME. *bēn*, an analogical formation after the inf.

Have he:, hɪv, ɑ, ə.

The last two forms of the inf. only occur as auxiliaries in compound tenses: ə wɪdə hi·n 'I should have had' but ə wɪd 'he· ne 'nɑ:se: 'I would have no nay-say, refusal'. The auxiliary form may submerge in the preceding nə (§ 98 d), tə 'to' : ə wɪd-nə di:t/di·nt 'I would not do, have done it', ə oxtə gjɑŋ/gi·n 'I ought to go, have gone'. To obviate this coalescence, tl = tʌl *till* is generally used in the perf. inf.[1]); cf. ə bit tə gjɑŋ/tlə gi·n 'I should go, have gone'. Among the finite forms of *have* the unemphatic -v, -ɪz are met with in the positive present, hɪ-, hɪ- in the negative present.

The full conjugation is as follows:

Present.

Indicative, pos.

ɑ he:, hɪv;	ɑv	I have	wɪ	he:, hɪv	wɪv	we have
hɪ, ʃɪ hɪz;	hɪz, ʃɪz	he, she has	jɪ		jɪv	you have
ɪt hɪz;	ɪts	it has	ðe·		ðev	they have

[1]) Native speakers declare that they feel no need for this differentiation, since in saying ə wɪdnə di·nt they have the sensation of wɪdnəə di·nt.

Interrogative.

hɪv-, he·- ɑ·e, ə, -jɪ, wɪ, ðe? have I, you, we, they?
hɪz (h)i·, hɪʃi·, hɪzt? has he, she, it?

Negative.

ɑ, wɪ, jɪ, ðe he·nə, hɪmə, hɪvnə I, we, you, they have not
hɪ, ʃɪ, ɪt hɪznə he, she, it has not.

Interrogative — negative.

he·nə, hɪmə, hɪvnə — jɪ bin tɪ ðə tu·n?[1]) hɪznə hi, ʃi?

Suasive (cf. above). hɪvn̩ jɪ?, 'hɪvnɪn jɪ? 'haven't you?'

Subjunctive with all persons. he:, hɪmə

Imperative. he:!, he or hə 'pe·ʃəns! 'have patience!'

Preterite.

Emphatic	ɑ, jɪ etc. hɪd I, you had; Neg. hɪdnə.
Unemphatic	ɑd, jɪd etc. (§ 98 a) I, you had.
Interrogative	hɪd ə, jɪ etc. had I, you? etc.
Interr.-neg.	hɪdnə, hɪdn̩-jɪ bi·n? 'had you not been?'

Past Participle.

hɪd, hi·n 'had'. At first sight the str. pp. might be supposed to be made on the pattern of di·n 'done', just as dɪv 'do' in its turn appears to be made after hɪv (but see § 60 c). The two

verbs hɪv hɪd hɪd
di: dɪd di·n

met in the pt., which might have caused reciprocal analogy to work in the other forms[2]). The facts of the non-Buchan dialects, however, do not support this explanation, since the vocal coincidence is not

---

[1]) hɪvnt-jɪ, hɪdnt-jɪ are from StE.

[2]) The corresponding str. pp. form in G., *gehân*, already in MHG. and now the common form in Swiss G. *(g'hān)* most likely followed the pattern of *gân* 'to go' pp. *gegân* or *lân* 'to let' pp. *gelân* after its inf. had been contracted > *hân*.

established [1]). Our hi·n is local for he·n (§ 23), the regular Scots str. pp. (not recorded by OED.) of he: (§ 28); the principal forms he:—hɪd—hi·n fully correspond to those of *to go* ge:—gɪd—gi·n.

Do di:, dɪv, dɪd, di·n.

It is only the present that needs writing out in full; the pt. dɪd and pp. di·n are invariable.

ɑ, jɪ, wɪ, ðe di:, dɪv I, you etc. do; neg. dɪnə, dɪvnə
hɪ, ʃɪ, ɪt dɪz he, she, it does; neg. dɪznə

Interr. (di:), dɪv- ə, -jɪ? etc.; neg. dɪnə, dɪvnə-jɪ? don't you?
dɪzɪ, dɪʃɪ dɪzt?; neg. dɪznəhi·, dɪzn̩ɪ?
Suasive (cf. above) dɪvn̩-jɪ?; dɪvnənə? 'don't I' cf. § 113.
Note se: dɪv 'ɑ·ə 'so do I' but se: di: wi:

Go ge:, gɪd, gi·n.

This inf. appears in four different, not exactly interchangeable forms: gjaŋ, gɪŋ (from OE. *ʒanʒan*), ge:, gɪ (< OE. *ʒán*). The last is fully unaccented and mostly heard before adverbial adjuncts like *back*, *home*, e.g. ɑ wɪdnə gɪ'du·n 'I would not go down' against ə dɪdnə 'gjaŋ 'I didn't go', wɪ hɪd fʌu·r məil tə gjaŋ or gɪŋ 'we had four miles to go', but also ɑ·ez gɪŋ 'du·n mə'se·l 'I'll go down myself'. The imperative is gɪ, djə (OE. *ʒá*) : djə'wɑ: tə jɪr be·d! 'go off to bed'. The pt. gɪd, [2]) the regular wk. form to the inf. ge: (cf. hɪd < he·d 'had'), is the common Scots form (spelt *gaed*), StE. *went* being unknown North of Yorkshire. The pp. gi·n 'gone' is OE. *ʒe-ʒán* § 23.

[1]) cf. Wilson, Perth dɪv : hɐv *have*; C. Scotland *din* : *hain*.

[2]) To connect gɪd with Barbour's and the 16th c. *yeid*, ME. *yede* OE. *ēode*, (as does Murray p. 210) or even *ʒe-ēode* is not permissible on account of the initial consonant.

§ 171. *Will* wʌl, l, wɪd.

wʌl and wɪd, the auxiliaries, blend with the personal pronoun in front (§ 98 a) : ʌl, jɪl, hɪl etc., ɑd, jɪd, hɪd etc. biˑ 'I etc. would be'. The interrogative form may be reduced: fɑˑrḷə pɪt ðə gɪrs? 'where do you want me to put the grass?'; fɑnḷi bi heˑm? 'when will he be home?' fʌtṇiˑnlɪ tɑk 'which will you take?', otherwise it is wʌl-ə, -jɪ, -i etc. kʌm? The emphatic form is, of course, full: ðə ˈdilə ðɑt ə ˈwʌl 'on no account shall I do it'; so is the independent verb: fɪðɪr jɪ wʌl or noˑ 'whether you will or not'. The neg. forms are invariable: wɪnə 'will not', wɪdnə 'would not'.

Shall sɑl, z, sɪd.

sɑl is obsolete. The neg. form remains in the imperative and future jɪ sɑnə kʌm 'you must not come', ə sɑnə bi ðeˑr 'I shall not be there'. The initial *s* survives as z to express futurity ɑˑez əˈwɑː 'I'll be off', wɪz lɑt ɛt bi diˑɪm 'we'll let it suffice'. jɪz diː ðɑt 'you'll do that'. The pt. sɪd, ʃɪd remains in the sense of 'ought to'.

Can kɑn, kud (kʌd).

ɑ, jɪ hɪ etc. kɑn, kṇ, kud, kəd; neg. kɑnə, kudnə

Interrog. kɑn-ə, -jɪ? etc. kud-ə, -jɪ? etc.

Neg. ˈkɑnəjɪ 'can't you?'.

Suasive (cf. above) kɑnənjɪ, kudnənjɪ? (§ 113), kudṇjɪ, kudnəjɪ?

May meː, mɪθ.

The present is commonly used in ˈmebi 'perhaps'. The pt. mɪθ, mɪçt, neg. mɪθnə, mɪçtnə is used like *might* in StE.

Must mɑˑn, mɑn, mən.

Our forms are ON. *mono*. There is no pt. to them. Ex. ə mɑn heːt 'I must have it', jɪr neˑ seˑ ˈblet, jɪ mən ˈken 'you 've sense enough to know'; jɪ mɑnə di ðɑt 'you must not do that'.

Dare dɑ:r (§ 41), dɑ·rd, dʌrst.

There are two forms in the pt.: dʌrst < ME. *durste* and the regular dɑ·rd. The negated forms are dɑrnə, dʌrsnə § 132 b.

Need ni·d, not, not.

A new pt. and pp. not is commonly used as an auxiliary and otherwise: hɪ not tə kʌm, tlə bi·n 'he had to come, to be', fɪn ɪts ne· not 'when it is not needed'. Negative: ni·dnə, notnə, hɪdnə not. Note the unvoicing of d in wɪl 'nittə gɪ 'du·n 'we'll need to go down'.

Beet (< *behoved* § 18) bi·t.

This only occurs in the pt. form, like *ought* in StE., but, unlike StE. *behoved*, it is now used personally. The -t need not be due to the t- of the following *to* but cf. § 141 (III). ɑ bi·tᵗə gjɑŋ, bitlə gi·n 'I ought to go, to have gone'.

Ought oxt.

As in StE., the pt. only is known. It corresponds to OE. *áhte*, pt. of *ázan* 'possess, own' : ɑ oxtᵗə, oxtnə tə.

Aicht eçt.

Etymologically the same as oxt; its form is the more genuine § 27. Like oxt and bi·t it has assumed the meaning of the present, e.g. fɑ· eçt ðə ku:? 'who owns the cow?' but also with the present -*s* ending, hɪ e·çtst 'he owns it'. The pt. may still be 'ɑ·e eçt ɛt 'I owned it', but also ɑ 'eçtət ɪt. Note the pres.p. in fu: mʌkl̩z ɑxtɛn? 'how much is due, *auchtand?*', which proves that *aucht* has long been looked upon as a present stem.

Specimen Texts in the Buchan Dialect.

The following extracts are taken from a book which is known in most homes in Aberdeenshire: *Johnny Gibb o' Gushetneuk*, by William Alexander. It gives, in a series of sketches, a true and exact picture of rural life in Aberdeenshire, in the middle of the 19th century, and in a parish which is not very far from the place where the material and examples for this grammar were collected. The dialect of the book, wisely reserved by the author for the passages of direct speech, may be called identical with the speech set forth in this grammar. In the few cases where the spelling seems to indicate that the author's speech deviates from our own, partly owing to his using forms now obsolete, my informant, in reading them to me, adhered to her own pronunciation. Our transcription, therefore, may be considered to represent genuine Buchan.

Forms that differ from ours, and words not treated in the grammar and therefore not registered in the Index are explained in the footnotes.

No attempt has been made at rendering the transcription uniform. Vacillations should be valued as such.

I.

Johnny Gibb, the *tacksman* (taksmən 'lessee') of Gushetneuk (gʌʃɛt'njuk), a two horse holding (hadɪn) on the property of Sir Simon Frissal, the *laird* (le·rd), is just about to start with his wife on the journey to the shore and the wells (wa·lz) of Macduff, which used to be an annual event. Tam Meerison the servant man has just finished *yokin' the cairt* (jokən ðə ke·rt 'putting in the horse').

J. G.: hili, hili, tam, jɪ gleket stɨrk, jɪ hɨnə o·n ðə 'hɪn 'ʃɨlvɪn o ðə ke·rt. fat hɪvjɨ bin he:vren at, mɪn? ðat kaf sek ɻ bɨ tɪnt ʌur ðə bak 'do:ɛr ə'fo·ər wɨ wɨn ə məil fe he·m. si:ət jɨr 'bele'ban bɨ tɨçt ɨn'jux nu:. wo: lase! man, jɪ bɪn maken ə hantl me:r ə'di: ə'but blekɛn ðat greθ o ju:rz ən ke·mɛn ðə mi:rz te·ɛl no·r 'balənsən jɪr ke·rt ən getɛn ðə θɪŋz paket 'ɨntʌlt.

Tam: saŋ[1], ðats ne: verɛ i:zi di·n, a kan 'tel jɨ, wɪ sɨk ə 'mjaŋɪ[2] o ðəm. fa:r ɻ ə pɨt ðə pʌkl gɨrs tə ðə mi:r?

J. G.: u, fats ðə is o ðat laŋ stups[3] ə'hɨm, a wɪd ləik tə ke·n? le: ðat bɨt ba:k ə'kros ən səin tak ðə a:l plux rəin ðe:r ən wʌp[4] ɨt tɨçt ə'twi·n ðə stəiz. wɪ kanə he ðə bi·s me·t traxɻt ə'mo ðe·r fit. fu mʌkl ko·rn pat jɪ ɨn?

Tam: fʌu·r lɨpez, gwi·d mɪzɪr, wʌl[5] ðat di:?

J. G.: wiz lat et bɨ di·ɪn; ɪz ðer trok[6] a: ɨn nu:, ə wɪnər?

Tam: njod[7], ʃu·rlɪ[8] ɨt ɨz.

J. G.: kʌm ə'wa: nu:, kʌm ə'wa: ən ne: lo:z[9] ðə mo·rnen. fa:rz ðə lase nu:?

Mrs. G.: u, a gart ɨr rɨn ru·n ðə njuk o ðə wɨd ə fəili si·n[10] tə smɪdr'ward tə si: ət epe wɪz ʌp ən ne: kips wəitɪn.

J. G.: ðat ɻ di:, go[11] on dʒes. jɪ me· bɨ lukɪn 'formə 'he·m ə'fo:ər 'sɪn'du·n ðə mo·rnz nɨçt.

Tam: wil, wil, tak ke·r o jɪr'selz.

---

[1] saŋ expletive oath, possibly Fr. *sang* 'blood'. — [2] mjaŋɪ; cf. § 106. — [3] stups projecting part of the frame of a cart. — [4] wʌp (beside wɨp) 'to tie round'; this might plausibly be a variant of fʌp 'whip' and therefore analogous to wʌskɛr—fʌskɛr or wɨsk—fʌsk (p. 122). — [5] wʌl; cf. § 63a. — [6] trok 'goods, lumber'; cf. § 132n. — [7] njod interj.,

I.

J. G.: Heely, heely, Tam, ye glaiket stirk—ye hinna on the hin shelvin' o' the cairt. Fat hae ye been haiverin at, min? That cauff saick'll be tint owre the back door afore we win a mile fae hame. See't yer belly-ban' be ticht aneuch noo. Woo lassie! [said to the mare, which has made some movement]. Man, ye been makin' a hantle mair adee about blaikin that graith o' yours, an' kaimin the mear's tail, nor balancin' yer cairt, an' gettin' the things packit in till't.

Tam: Sang, that's nae vera easy deen, I can tell ye, wi' sic a mengyie o' them. Faur'll aw pit the puckle girss to the mear?

J. G.: Ou, fat's the eese o' that lang stoups ahin, aw wud like tae ken? Lay that bit bauk across, an' syne tak' the aul' pleuch ryn there, an' wup it ticht atween the stays; we canna hae the beast's maet trachel't amo' their feet. Foo muckle corn pat ye in?

Tam: Four lippies—gweed—mizzour—will that dee?

J. G.: We'se lat it be deein. Is their trock a' in noo, I won'er?

Tam: Nyod, seerly it is.

J. G.: Come awa', noo; come awa', an' nae loss the mornin. Faur's the lassie noo?

Mrs. G.: Ou, I gart'er rin roun' the neuk o' the wood a filie syne, to Smiddyward, to see 'at Eppie was up, an' nae keep 's wytin.

J. G.: That'll dee. Go on, Jess. Ye may be luikin for me hame afore sindoon the morn's nicht.

Tam: Weel, weel, tak' care o' yersel's.

---

euphemistic for *God*. — [8] ʃuːrlɪ is from StE., siːrlɪ being obsolescent. — [9] loːz; I never heard los. — [10] siːn; the spelling of the book no doubt means sɛin (cf. nine lines higher up), which is also possible; cf. p. 108, footnote 2; p. 180 l. 17. — [11] go on is StE.

II.

Johnny Gibb has left his wife behind at Macduff, and on his return home his neighbour Peter Birse of Clinkstyle calls on him for news.

P. B.: wi·l gʌʃɛts,[1] jiv wʌn red o ðə gwid′wəif nu:, hɪvjɪ?[2]

J. G.: ɪ ðə mi·ntəim klɪŋkɪz, mɪθnə jɪ tra·e sʌmθɪŋ o ðə kəin tə get on ðə briks jɪr′sel for ə fjʌu de:z dʒɪst for ə tʃi:ng?

P. B.: wi·l, fu:z ðə krʌp lukɪn[3] du·n ðə wa·e o tʌrɛ?[4]

J. G.: u, bra·le, bɪts o ðə ko·rn wɪd bɪ ni·n wa:r o ə gwid ʃu·ər, bɪt ðə fek o·ts setɛn for ə gəi fe·r krʌpe.

P. B.: dijɪ θɪŋk ðat θo. gʌʃɛts? ɪts ble·t, ble·t ə hantḷ o·t 'hirəbut.

J. G.: u a·e, jiv ə gəi pʌkle ɪ ðə lʌft ən 'twaθri[5] a:l rʌks tə θrʌʃ u·t pitər, bɪt a wɪdnə əd′va·ez jɪ tə kip ʌp əks′pekɛn ən on′di·mɪs prəis fo·rt, ðə ko·rnz kʌmɛn du·n.

P. B.: e: ma·n, ɪzt? ən fat ar ðe gi·ɪn ət ðə ʃo:ər?

J. G.: fʌur ɲ twɪntɪ for gwi:d, wi·l kʌlɛrt stʌf; ən getɛn slak ət ðat. ðerz sɪk kja·rnz[6] o·t pu·rɪn ɪn sɪn ðə nip sid wɪz ɦuɪʃt.

P. B.: ən dɪvnə[7] jɪ θɪŋk fʌur ɲ twɪntɪ ə terebḷ lɪtḷ sɪmɛr prəis, gʌʃɛts?

J. G.: di·d, pitər, di:r[8] ən′jux for ðem ət hɪzt tə ba·e. dɪnə i bi kipɪn ʌp lɪpnɛn tʌl ə mʌkl prəis ə′fo:ər he·rst, jɪ me· get ə les ən ne: blɪsɛn wi·t.

P. B.: ə′wi·l,[9] a: ðə tuʃt ə′but u·r tu·n ḷ mak lɪtḷ o·dz. wɪ wɪznə dʒɪst ʃu:ər gɪn wɪ wɪd θrʌʃ ut ðə bɪt huiki or twa: twɪ he: or no:. ɪz ðer mone fʌuk at ðə wa·lz ðɪs sɪzɪn?

J. G.: mʌkl ə′but ðə ordnər.

P. B.: ðerḷ bɪ me·r ni·st mʌnθ, a da:rse, ðə watɛr wɪnə bi at ɪts strɪnθ tʌl ni·r ə′but lamɛs jɪ ken. fan dɪv jɪ gɪ du·n ə′gen tə fes[10] he·m ðə gwid′wəif?

J. G.: ðɪs de: wik[11].

---

[1] gʌʃɛts, klɪŋkɪz a short and familiar way of calling a farmer after his farm; cf. jondi(z) : *Yonderton*. — [2] hɪvjɪ = he:jɪ. — [3] lukɪn; cf. § 106 Note 2. — [4] tarɛ = *Turriff*. — [5] 'twaθri; I never heard twarθri

II.

P. B.: Weel. Gushets, ye 've wun redd o' the goodwife noo, hae ye?

J. G.: I' the meantime, Clinkies — mithna ye try something o' the kin' to get on the breeks yersel' for a fyou days, jist for a cheenge?

P. B.: Weel, foo 's the crap lyeukin doon the wye o' Turra?

J. G.: Ou brawly; bits o' the corn wud be neen waur o' a gweed shooer, but the feck o' 't's settin' for a gey fair crappie.

P. B.: D' ye think that, though, Gushets? — it 's blate, blate, a hantle o' 't, hereaboot.

J. G.: Ou ay, ye 've a gey puckle i' the laft, an' twa 'r three aul' rucks to thrash oot, Peter; but I wudna advise you to keep up, expeckin an ondeemas price for't — the corn 's comin' doon.

P. B.: Eh, man, is 't? An' fat are they gi'ein at the Shore?

J. G.: Four-an'-twenty for gweed, weel-colour't stuff; an' gettin' slack at that. There 's sic cairns o' 't pourin' in sin' the neep seed was finish't.

P. B.: An' divnin ye think four-an'-twenty a terrible little simmer price, Gushets?

J. G.: 'Deed, Peter, it 's aboot daar aneuch for them that has't to buy. Dinna ye be keepin' up, lippenin till a muckle price afore hairst, — ye may get a less, an' nae blessin' wi' 't.

P. B.: Aweel, a' the toosht aboot oor toon 'll mak' little odds. We wusna jist seer gin we wud thrash oot the bit huickie or twa 't we hae, or no. Is there mony fowk at the Walls this sizzon?

J. G.: Muckle aboot the ordinar'.

P. B.: There 'll be mair neist month, I daursay, — the water winna be at its strength till near aboot Lammas, ye ken. Fan div ye gae doon again to fesh hame the goodwife?

J. G.: This day ouk.

(< twɑ: or θri:). — [6] kjɑ·rnz; cf. § 106. — [7] divnə for divnən; cf. p. 172 top. — [8] dɑ:r has died out, as well as nɑ:r 'near'. — [9] ə'wi·l (one word) 'ah well, well then'. — [10] foʃ; cf. §§ 117, 158. — [11] uk†; cf. § 21. Note 2.

P. B.: ən jil tak ə de: ər twa: o ðə watɛr jɪr'sel ləik?

J. G.: fe 'wɪdn̩zdɪ tʌl 'setərdɪ lɨklɛ — wɪl kʌm he'm on 'setərdɪ.

P. B.: dʒɪst ðat. ðel bɪ bɪ'gʌn tə ðə herɛn gɪn ðan?

J. G.: ɑ kenə.

P. B.: sa:nə jɪ ne: ɑ'pi:rɪns o ðə fɨʃərz getɛn ðə mʌkl̩ bo'ts hʌrlt du'n tə ðə watər af o ðə tʃɪŋl̩, or ðə nɨts[1] raŋkɪt ut?

J. G.: wi'l, ɑ re:le tuk[2] lɨtl̩ notes pitɪr bɪt ɑ'ez kip ma i'n o'pm fɪn ɑ gɪ 'bak.

III.

Mrs. Birse, an ambitious woman, pursues her plans to add the farm of Gushetneuk to their own. In order to achieve this she is anxious to see her son Peter married to Mary Howie, J. Gibb's probable heir. Hence her encouraging advice:

Mrs. B.: nu: pate man, fa: l̩ di: ᵊz mʌkl̩ fo'r jɪ ɑz jɪr e'ɛn[3] mɪðɪr? gɪn ɨr hi'd wər ka:l ɨ ðə mu'lz ɑ dut ðerz fjʌu wɨd luk eftər jɪ ə'zʃi' wɨd di:.

Peter: hut, fats ðə i's o spikɪn ðat ge't — am ʃu'r am ne' afn̩ ɪn[4] ən ʌl ti'n.

Mrs. B.: bɨt, mə ladɪ, məin jɪr ne: tə bɪ ba:x[5] n̩ 'tʃʌkŋ'hertet θo me'rɛ hʌui sɨd gi: ɨr hi'd ə bɨt kast fəilz ət ðə fɨrst. ðats ne: mark, ʃɪ me: bɪ re'ɛl pru'd tə bɪ ne'mt tə ji. ən məin ji' ðat me'rɛz grʌun ə strapɛn 'wi'l'fa:rt la's: ən θo' ʃɪ hɪznə ðə me'nɛrz nor edɪ'ke'ʃɛn o jɪr sɪstɛr.

Peter: ha:, ə dɪnə ke'r ə tɪŋklərz kʌrs for me'nɛrz gɪn ə kud get ɨr.

Mrs. B.: ən ʃɪz ə rɨçt se'rvɪn, ən fɨn[6] ðə a:l fʌuk wi:rz ə'wa: jɪ wɪd bi ʃu:ər tə get ðə mʌkl fek o fat ðe he: gɪn jɪ ple:d jɪr ke'rts ðə rɨçt ge't; for gʌʃɛts hɪz ne: ni:r fri'nz oz e'ɛn. ən jɪ mɨθ əivn̩[7] ɨn kurs o ne'tɛr kʌm ɨn tə gʌʃɛt'njuk ɨt'se'l ti:. ɨts ə ləikəbl̩ spot ən rɨçt wi'l ɨn hert[8] kəinlɪ grʌnɪ.

Peter: bɪt fat wɪd ə di: wɪ gʌʃɛt'njuk? ɑ θoxt ə wɪztə get u'r e'ɛn tu'n, amnənə?

---

[1] nɨt; cf. § 58d. — [2] tjuk; cf. § 106 Note 2. — [3] ne'ɛn; cf. § 149.3. — [4] on appears to be archaic. — [5] ba:x 'backward through bashfulness' (ON. *bág-r*, after § 121 a II?). — [6] fɪn; cf. § 96. — [7] əivn also at Peter-

P. B.: An' ye'll tak' a day or twa o' the water yersel', like?

J. G.: Fae Wednesday till Saturday lickly, — we'll come hame on Saturday.

P. B.: Jist that. They'll be begun to the herrin' gin than?

J. G.: I kenna.

P. B.: Sawna ye nae appearance o' the fishers gettin' the muckle boats hurl't doon to the water aff o' the chingle, or the nets rankit oot?

J. G.: Weel, I really tyeuk little notice, Peter; but I 'se keep my een apen fan I gae back.

III.

Mrs. B.: Noo, Patie, man, fa'll dee as muckle for ye as yer nain mither? Gin her heid war caul i' the mools, aw doot there's fyou wud luik aifter ye as she wud dee.

Peter [who had actually courted M. but found his attentions unacceptable]: Hoot, fat's the eese o' speakin' that gate — I 'm sure I 'm nae af'en on an ill teen.

Mrs. B.: But, my laddie, min' ye're nae to be bauch and chucken-heartit though Mary Howie sud gi'e her heid a bit cast files at the first. That's nae mark; she may be rael prood to be name't to ye. An' min' ye that Mary's grown a strappin, weel-faur't lass: an' though she hisna the menners nor edication o' yer sister.

Peter: Hah! I dinna care a tinkler's curse of menners, gin aw cud get'er.

Mrs. B.: An' she's a richt servan', an' fan the aul' fowk wears awa' ye wud be seer to get the muckle feck o' fat they hae gin ye play'd yer cairts the richt gate — for Gushets has nae near freens o' 's nain. An' ye mith aiven, in coorse o' naitur, come in to Gushetneuk itsel', tee. It's a likeable spot, an' richt weel in heart kin'ly grun'ie.

Peter: But fat wud aw dee wi' Gushetneuk? Aw thocht I was to get oor ain toon; amnin aw?

---

head, but e:vn is the common form outside Buchan, cf. § 69.1. — [8] rɪçt wi:l ɪn hert is an adjectival phrase; *land in gweed hert* = land that has not been overcropped, but well manured.

Alphabetical Word Index.

References are to pages.

Words printed in ordinary type are also known in StE. Words in italics are dialectal, i.e. chiefly Scotch. The phonetic transcription renders the average Buchan pronunciation. The phonetic and geographical variants discussed in the grammar have largely been ignored, and the index form, therefore, will not always be found to be identical with the forms referred to by the numbers, especially as regards quantity and second syllable vowels. Syllabic l, n, m have been left unmarked.

Disyllables and compounds without stress marks (e.g. **rðɪr, mone, kɪzɪn, dɪvɪts, e't si'd**) should be treated according to §§ 92, 93. Obvious non-level stress has been marked, e.g. **'barfɪt, 'utənt, 'neθmɪst, e'prəil, kɪrk'jard, fɪt'rodɪ.**

In deciding between StE. and Scotch we have been guided, on the whole, by the etymology. Differences of meaning (e.g. in bailiff, burthen etc.) and formation (e.g. StE. rat Buchan *ratton*, StE. owl Buchan *oolit*, StE. kitten Buchan *kittling*) have not been thought sufficient reasons for calling a word Scotch. This principle has, however, been abandoned where semantic identity (e.g. choose = **tʃɑ·ez** < Fr. *choisir*, sting = **staŋ** < Scand. *stanga*, defile = **fəil** < OE. *fýlan*) or, conversely, semantic differentiation (e.g. *chiel* StE. child) have been allowed to prevail over etymological considerations. Many compounds have had to be given in italics because their parts in spite of their being well known in StE. individually (e.g. *scythe-board, door-stone, black dust*) do not occur in composition.

The meaning of a word is added in brackets to indicate its differing from StE. (e.g. *dice, dragon, tune*) or to distinguish among homonyms. The same has been done briefly with Scotch words that seemed to ask for a definition.

a

ablach ablɔx 113.
above *(aboon)* ə'bi·n 8, 114.
(ac)counts ku·nts 37, 78.
acquainted ə'kwant 90.
acre akɛr, a·kɛr 32, 70.
act ak 131.
adder edɪr 109.
ado ə'di: 84.
adze itʃ 13, 136.
afore (before) ə'fo:ər 34.
after eftɛr 27.
afternoon eftər'ni·n 8.
(a)gree gri: 9, 78, 140.
aicht (to own) e·çt, eçt 20, 83, 91, 176.
airt e·rt 24, 133.
alas ə'lɪs 40.
alder-tree aldɪr 127.
ale e·l 21, 23, — ale-house > *Ellis* elɛs 81.
all a: 3, 30, 60, 102.
allow ə'lu: 37, 140.
alone ə'li·n 17.
among ə'mon 36, 98, ə'mʌn 6, 51, ə'mo 6.
a(n) ə(n), a 151.
Anderson 'anərsn 125.
aneath (beneath) ə'neθ 70.
anent ə'nent 115, 132.
ant 'emərti·n 27, 66.
any one 36, 84.
apple epl 27, — appletree epl'tri: 19.
April e'prəil 54, 78.
apron 'a:prən 30.
arles (earnest money) arlz 33, 101.
arm e·rm 24, 69.
army e·rme 24.
(ar)rest vb. ri·st 18, 78.
arse e·rs 24.
art art, e·rt 34.
ash(tree) aʃ 32, 105.
ashes e·s 28, 107, — ashy e·se 65, 87.
at rel. pron. (ə)t 83, 84.
athwart a'θort 90.
aught oxt 118.
auld, see old.
awal ja:vl 92, 116.
aware ə'wa:r 30.
awate ə'wəit 56.
away ə'wa: 31.
awful 'a:fɛ 29, 75, 92, 148.
awns ja:vɪmz 92, 116.
axe eks 27, 151, pl. eksɪz 73, dim. pl. eksɛz 73.
axle eksl 27.
ay (always) əi 55.
aye (yes) a·e 55.

b

back bak 32.
backet bakɛt 31, 32, 73.
bacon be·kŋ 94.
bad bad 32.
bag bag 32.
bail (water) be·l 23.
bailiff (cattleman) be·lɪ, Deeside be·lji 77.
Bain be·ɛn 24.
bairn be·rn 24.
bake bja:k, bja·k, be·k 22, 61, 91.
bald be·lt 20, 133.
bale (of straw) be·l ə stre: 21.
ball ba: 30, pl. (calves) ba:lz 30, dim. ba·e 7.
ban (curse) ban 33, pt. bant 139.
bandster banstər 145.
Banff bamf 97.
bar ba:r 30.
bare be:ᵉr 21, — barefoot 'barfɪt 33, 34, 70.
bargham breçm 103, 112.
bark vb. bark 33.
barley barle 33.
barn barn 33, 97.
barrel barl 33, 101.
bassie bose 36.

bast bas 132.
bathe beːð 22.
bauchle baxl 69, 101.
be biː 9, 171, pt. sg. wɪz, wɪz, waz 40, 52, 171, pl. war, waʀ, wər 33, 34, 171, pp. biːn, bin, bɪn 19, 44, 171.
bead biːd 61.
beal(ing) biːl(ɪn) 16.
beam biːm 11.
bean biːn 11, 19.
bear (barley) biːr 11.
bear vb. biːr 11, 159, pt. boːər 159, pp. boːrn, born 35, 159.
beard beːrd 24.
beast biːs(t) 132, 138, pl. biːs 138, — beasts' meat biːs'meːt 138.
beat bit 11, 170, pt., pp. bet 170.
beauty bjʌutɪ 58.
bed bed, beːd 4, 26, 69.
bee biː 9.
beech bitʃ 134.
beest biːʃt 9, 104.
beetle (mallet) bitl 10, 145.
before, see afore.
beg beg 26.
begin bɪ'gɪn 130, 158, pt. bɪ'gan 158, bɪ'gud 140, 159, pp. bɪ'gʌn 158.
behind *(ahin')* ə'hɪn 40.
behold, pp. bɪ'hadn 127, 128.
behove, pt. bit 8, 115, 176.
bellows belɛs 103, 139, 148.
belly belɛ 74.
belong bɪ'lɑŋ 33, 123.
belt bɪlt 42.
ben (part of a house) ben 28.
bench bɪnʃ 42.
bend beːn 26, 59, 67, 77, 171, pt., pp. beːnt 171.
beneath, see *aneath.*
benmost 'benmɪst 149.
bent(grass) bɪnt 42.
berry berɛ 74.
berst sb. bɪrst 43; cf. burst.
besom biːzɪm 11, 95.
bet bet 26.
bicker bɪkɛr 42.
bid bɪd 39, 41, 75, 162, pt. bad 162, pp. bɪdn 75, 162.
bide bəid 53, 155, pt. beːd 4, 69, 155, pp. bɪdn 155.
bield biːl(d) 126, 127.
big adj. bɪg, bɪg 41, 146.
big vb. bɪg 41, 129.
bigging 'bɪgɪn 145.
bigsie bɪgzɪ 74.
Bill (Will) bɪl 101.
bin bɛn, dim. 'bɪne 59.
bind bɪn 40, 124, 125, 158, pt. ban 158, pp. bʌn 142, 158.
bing bɪŋ 40, 59.
bink bɪŋk 42, 135.
binner bɪnər 5.
birch bɪrk 41, 135.
birth bɪrθ 41.
bit sb., adj. bɪt 39, 42, 82, 89.
bitch bɪk 6, 41, 135.
bite bəit, pt. beːt, pp. bɪtn 155.
black blak, — blackberry 'blak'bere 79, 89, — *Blackburn* blak'bʌrn 89, — *blackdust* blakdɪst 89.
blade bleːd 22.
bladded bladɪt 75.
bladder bledɪr 109.
blae bleː 20, 81 — *blaeberry* 'bleː,bere 79, 81.
blaik bleːk 63, 65.
blain (tʃɪl) bleːɛn 22.
blate bleːt 20.
blather bleːðɪr 27, 100, 110.
blawort blɪvɪrt 81, 87, 116.
blaze bliːz 9.
bleck blek 26, 135.
bleed bliːd 9, 19, 170, pt., pp. bled 170.
bless blɪs 43.
bliffert blʌfərt 49.

blind adj. blɪn 40, 41, vb. blɪn 81, — *blinddrift* (blizzard) blɪndrɪft 81, — blindfolded blɪnfa:lt 128, — *blind-full* 'blɪn'fu 80.
blithe bla·eð 53, 87.
blood bli·d 8, 9, 19, 67.
bloom blu·m 19.
blow bla:, bla:v 29, 163, pres.p. bla:vɪn, bla:ɛn 73, 116, pt. blu: 38, 163, pp. bla:n 163.
blown fish 'bla:n'fɪʃ 115.
boar bo:ɛr 21.
board brod, bro·d 35, 61, 79, 103, bju:ərd 36, 69.
boat bo·t 21.
body bodɪ 32, 35, bʌdɪ 51.
boil bɔil 54, 76.
bold ba:l, bo·ld 30, 126, 127.
bolster bʌustɪr 58.
bolt bʌut 58.
bondage 'benɪdʒ 125, 136.
bone bi·n 17, 19, 59, — bony bini 59.
bonnet bonet 146.
bonnie bone 64.
book bjuk 36, 134, 138.
boot bit 8, 19, 76, dim. 'bitikɪn 144.
booze bu:z 60.
borough brox 36, 103, 112, see also *brough*.
bosom bʌuzi(m), bo·zɪ 59, 66, 95.
both be:ð 20, 87, 108.
bother bʌdɪr 31, 99, 109.
bothie boθe 36.
bottom bodɪm 32, 35, 93, 109.
boulder bu·ldɪr 37, 127, 128.
bourach burɪç 113.
bourn bʌrn 48, 80, 96, 97.
bow sb. (handle) bʌu 58.
bow vb. bu: 37, 140, pt. bu:d, bu:t 63.
bowl[1] (measure) bʌu 58, dim. bʌui 58, — (milk-cup) bʌul 70, 71.
bowl[2] (ball) bu·l 37, 71, 102.
box boks 35.
boxer (cow) bokser 145.
boy boɪ 1.
brae bre: 20, 80.
brain bre·ɛn 22, — brainy bre·ne 72.
brake bre·k 22.
bramble brɛml, brʌml 39, 49, 66, 123, 145.
branch bre·nʃ 136.
brander (gridiron) brʌnɪr 33.
brass bres 4, 27.
brave bra: 114, adv. bra·le, brale 64, 74.
bray (to press) bre: 22, 140.
bread bri·d 11, 67, — bread-trencher bri·dtrʌnʃər 49, 145.
breadth bri·d, bri·θ 11.
break brʌk 32, 33, 63, 65, 70, 162, 163, pt. brʊk 162, 163, pp. brokŋ 95, 162.
breast bri·st 9, 66.
bree bri: 10.
breeches briks 10, 135, 148.
breed bri·d, pt., pp. bred 170.
brew bru: 38, 140.
briar bri:r 9.
brickle brʌkl (obs.) 49, 146.
bridge brɪg, brɛg 40, 41, 129, dim. brɛgɪ 74.
bright brɛçt 43.
bring brɪŋ 41, 169, pt., pp. broxt 36, 66, 169.
brissill bɪrsl 103.
broad bre·d 20, 75.
brodmell 'bro·dml 35.
broom bri·m 8, 19, 66, 146.
brose-caup (porridge bowl) 'bro·zka:p 79, 117.
brother bri·dɪr, brɪðɪr 8, 9, 45, 66, 109.
brough (halo) brox 36, 51.
brow bru:, pl. bri:rz 9, 137.
browden(ed) brʌudn(t) 58, 95.

brown bru·n 37.
bruise (crush) bɪrz 40, 44, 66, 103.
brush pl. brʌʃɪz, dim. pl. brʌʃez 73.
brute brit 8.
Buchan bʌxɛn 73.
bucht bʌxt 6, 48.
buckie (whelk) bʌke 48, 77.
buff bʌf 48, 54.
bulked bukit 37, 102.
bull bʌl 48, 138.
burial 'birɪəl 13.
burn bʌrn 50, 103, pp. brʌnt 103.
burst bɪrst, bʌrst 43, 50, 159, pt. bʌrst 167, pp. bʌrsn 43, 132, 168.
burthen (bundle) bɪrn 41, 108.
bury birɪ 13, 74.
bush bʌs 48, 107, 132, 138.
bushel bʌʃl 48.
but bɪt 40, 44, 45, 67.
but bʌt 46, 48.
butcher butʃɛr 49.
butter bʌtɛr, — buttery bʌtɛre 100.
button bʌtɛn 93, dim. bʌtɛne 100.
buy ba·e 7, 52, 131, 169, pt., pp. boxt 35, 112, 169.
by ba·e 52, 82.
byous ba·ᵊɪs 52.
byre bəi·r 53, 70, 71.

C

caddie kadɪ 73.
cail ke·l 20, 23.
caird ke·rd 24, kjɑ:rd 91, 133.
cairn ke·rn 24, kjarn 91.
cake kjɑ:k 3, kjɑ·k 30, 91, dim. kjake 65, — cake of bread (oat-cake) kjɑ:k ə bri·d 61.
calf kɑ·f 3, 61, 62, 134, pl. kɑ:r 3, 30, 50, 68, 115, 137, dim. kɑ·fe, kafe 88, pl. karez 144.
call (call, drive) 30, 60, 140, pt. kɑ:d 63, 140.
caller (cool) kalɛr 32, 64, 127, 128.
calve kɑ:v 88.
can kan, kn 175, pt. kud, kʌd, ked 48, 111, 175.
candle kanl 33, 125, 134.
cane ke·ɛn 22, 26.
capital adj. 'kapɪtl 148.
card sb. ke·rt 24, 133, — vb. ke·rd 24, kjard 91.
care ke:ər 21, 82.
carl, see churl.
carry kere 24, pt. keret 76.
cart ke·rt 21, 24, 79, — cpds. spring-, box-, long-, sprɪŋ, boks, laŋ-ke·rt 79.
cartle ke·rtl 146.
cast kast 32, 162, 163, 166, pt. kist 1, 162, 163, pp. kasn 132, 162, — sb. kast 82.
castle ka·sl 132.
cat kat, dim. kate 73.
catch katʃ 169, pt., pp. katʃt 76, 124, 169.
cauldrife 'ka·ldrif 127.
caup ka·p 3, 30, 62, 63.
certain se·rtɛn 24, 93, -ly 'se·rtentle 76, 132.
chaff kaf 3, 62, 134, 135.
chaft tʃaft 32, 136.
chain tʃəin 55, 136.
chair tʃi:r 18.
chalder tʃa:dɪr 127.
chalk ka:k 102, 134.
chamber tʃa:mɛr 30, 123.
change tʃi·n(d)ʒ 18, 136, 140.
chap (young man) tʃap 32, 63, 66, 134.
charge tʃe·rdʒ 24, 136.
Charlie tʃe·rle, tʃe: (pet form) tʃarle 34, 143.
cheap tʃe·p 11, 12, 66, 134.
cheat tʃe·t 25, 136, 140.
cheep vb. tʃip 18.
cheese tʃi:z 9, 134.
chelp tʃɛlp 42.
chest kɪst 41, 135.

chew tʃɑː 140, 163, 164, pt. tʃɑː, tʃɑːd 163, 164, 168, pp. tʃɑːn, tʃɑːd 163, 164. 168.
chicken tʃʌkŋ 35, 49, 66, 94, 134.
chiel tʃiˑl 14, 16, 69, 126, 128, 134, 137.
child tʃɜl 16, 126, 128, 134, 137.
chill tʃɪl 134.
chin tʃɪn 134.
China tʃiˑnə 18.
choice tʃɑˑes 54.
choir kəir 55, 90.
chokes tʃʌuks 59, 136.
choose tʃɑˑez 54, 134, 167.
chop vb. tʃɑp 31.
christen krɪsn 44, 103, 132, 143.
Christian ˈkrɪsteən 105.
Christina krɪste, krɪse 74, 103, 143.
church krɪk 41, 135, — churchyard krɪkˈjard 34, 79, — church-town ˈkrɪrtən, krɪkˈtuˑn 80.
churl (elderly fellow) karl 33, 34, 97, 101, 135.
churn krɪn 5. 41, 97, 135, — churning-day ˈkrɪrnənˈde 81.
cinder ʃʌnɪr 49, 104, 105.
city siti 13.
civil siˑvl 13, 101.
clachter klaxter 32.
claik kleˑk 21.
clap klap 32, 84.
claw klɑː 29.
clay kleː 22, 60.
clean kliˑn 11.
clear kleː r 25.
cleave kliːv, pp. kloˑvn 157, 168.
cleek klik 12, 70, 135, 169, pt., pp. klaxt 76, 169.
cleg gleˑg 129, 133.
clew kluː 38.
cliack kleiək 54.
climb klɪm 40, 41, 68, 78, 123, pt. klaˑm, klam, klɪmt 67, 168, pp. klɪmt 167, 168.
cling klɪŋ, pt. klaŋ, pp. klʌŋ 158.
clip vb. klɪp 41.
clip (young horse) klɪp 42.
clock knok 3, 35, 132.
clook kluk 36.
cloth kleˑθ, kleθ 134, 148, pl. kleiz, kleːz 20, 55, 108, 148, *cloth-breeches* kleθbriks 90.
clothe kled 111, 169, pt. pp. kled 27, 66, 169.
clour (bump) kluːər 70.
clout klut 37.
coal koˑl 34, – (hot ember) kweil 56.
coarse kurs 100.
coat kweit 56.
cock kok 35.
cog kog 131.
cold kɑːl 30, 64, 126, 134.
comb keˑm 20, 56, 68, 76, 78, 123.
come kʌm 134, 160, 161, pt. kam 33, 160, 161, pp. kʌm 142, 160, 161.
complain kəmˈpliˑn 18.
conduct vb. kənˈdʌk 131.
connach konɛx 36, 113.
convey kənˈvɑˑe 55.
cood (small tub) kwiˑd 9.
cook kuk 75, 92.
cool vb. kwiˑl 8.
coot kwit 9, *cootbone* ˈkwitˈbiˑn 89, *cootjoint* kwitˈdʒeint 89.
cootikins ˈkwitikɪnz 76, 89.
cope kʌup 59.
corn korn 35, 97.
corpse korp 148.
cost kost 169, pt., pp. kost 169.
Cotburn kotˈbarn 80, 89.
coulter kutɪr 37, 102.
country kwɪntrɪ†, kʌntrɪ 46, 90.
course kurs 37.
court kurt 37.
cousin kɪzɪn 46, 95.
couthie kuθi 37, 87, kuːði 87.
covey kɪvɪ 46.

cow ku: 2, 37, 134, 147, pl. ka·e 52, 134, 144, 147.
cower ku:ər 37.
cowp (tilt) kʌup 59, 141.
cowper kʌupɪr 58, 145.
crack (to chat) krak 32.
cradle kre·dl 21.
craig (neck) kre·g 83.
cranie krane 32, 74.
crawl kra:l 102.
creature kre·tər 25, 38, 105, 124.
creel kri·l 18.
creep krip 160, 170, pt. krap 33, 160, kripit 168, 170, pp. krʌpm 94, 160, kripit 168, 170.
croft kraft 31.
crook kruk 36.
crow kra: 29, 134, 163, 164, pt. kru: 163, pp. kra:n 163, kra:d 168.
crown kru·n 37.
cruive krɪv 45, 115.
crumb krʌm 67.
cry kra·e 140.
cud kwi·d 13.
curds kru·dz 103.
cure kju:ər 37, 71.
curious ki·rɪəs 9.
curn sb. (some) kʌrn 97.
curse kʌrs 48, 100.
cut kʌt 60, 169, pt., pp. kʌtət 169.

d

dachle daxl 32.
dacker dakər 32.
dag dag 131.
dairy dəiri 55.
daltie da:tə 30.
damie di:mɪ 18.
dare da:r 30, 60, pt. dʌrst 132, 176, da·rd 176.
darg darg 100.
daughter do·θər, doxtər 35, 113.
day de: 22, in cpds. -dɪ 73, 81.
deacon di·kŋ 94.
dead di·d 11, 67.
deaf dif, di·f 1, 11, 67.
deal di·l 11, vb. di·l, pt., pp. di·lt 170.
dear di:r 9.
death di·d, deθ 11, 111.
deave di:v 11, 139.
debt det 26.
decent de·sənt 148.
deck dek 26.
deece di·s 18.
deep dip 148.
deer di:r 9.
(de)file fəil 53, 66.
delted dɛltɪt 42.
delve de·l 26, 115.
den (vale) den, de·n 26.
depend dɪ'pe·n 84.
desk dask 106, 107.
Dess des 107.
devale de'va:l 102.
devil di·l 9, 43, 114, di:vl 66, 114, dim. di:vlɪk 114.
dew djʌu 58.
dice (square) dəis 139, dim. dəisi 74.
dicht dɪçt 41, 76.
die di: 11, 63, 140.
dike dəik 53, 79, 135, — cpds. stone-, *feal-*, whin- sti·n, fe·l, fʌn-dəik 79, *diker* dəikɪr 145.
dim (dark) dɪm 41.
dine dəin 54.
ding dɪŋ 42, 158, 166, pt. daŋ, pp. dʌŋ 158, 159.
dinner denər 28.
dip dɪp 41.
dird dɪrd 41.
dirl dɪrl 41, 101, 102.
dirt-cheap 'dɪrt'tʃep 80.
dish dɪʃ 81, 105.
ditch dɪtʃ, dʌtʃ 51, 134.
dive da·ev 52.

divots dɪvɪts 87.
do di:, dɪv, dɪ- 8, 31, 40, 45, 67, 115, 174, pt. dɪd, dɛd 140, 173, 174, pp. di·n 9, 67, 82, 173, 174, — doer di·stɪr 132, 145.
dock vb. dok 35.
dock(leaf) dok 35.
dog dog 35, 129.
doit dɔit 54.
domain me·ɛn(z) 24.
door do:ɛr 34, 71, 72, dim. dorɛ 72, — *doorstone* dor'sti·n 79.
dottled dotlt 35.
double dʌbl 151.
doubt dut 37, 61.
dove du:, pl. du:z 37, 60, 114.
down sb. du·n 37.
dozen dɪzɪn 46, 95.
drag drɑg 131.
dragon (kite) dregɪn, dre:gɪn 27, 131.
drainer dre·nər 72.
draught (team of horses) drɑxt 32.
draw drɑ: 29, 163, pt. dru: 38, 163, pp. drɑ:n 163, — draw-well drɑ:wɑ·l 79.
dread dri·d 9, 67, — dreadful 'dri·dfɪ 75.
dream dri·m 11, 12, 170, pt., pp. dri·mt 170.
dree dri: 9.
dreich driç 10, 112.
dribblick drɪblɪk 144.
drill dri·l 13, 69.
drink drɪŋk 134, 158, pt. draŋk, pp. drʌŋk(ŋ) 158.
drip drip 10, 67, 76.
drive drɑ·ev 53, 87, 155, pt. dri:v, pp. drɪvn 13, 155.
droop drup 37.
drop sb. drɑp 31.
dross (rubbish) drʌʃ 51, 104.
drought drʌxt 48, 66, 112, 133.
drouking drukɪn 37.
drove sb. dro:v 21.
drow drʌu 58.
drown dru·n 37, 83.
Drumquhindle drʌm'ʃʌnl 121.
dry drɑ·e 52.
dub(s) dʌb(z) 48.
duck sb. djuk 37, 67.
duck vb. (bathe) duk 37, 67, 134.
dulse dɪls 65.
dumb dʌm 48.
dun dɪn 44, 47.
dust dɪst 44, 45, 66.
dwalm dwɑ:m 30, 60.
dwell dwɑ·l 33, pt., pp. dwɑ·lt 169.
dye dɑ·e 52.

e

each ɪlki, ʌlki 42, 74, 77.
ear i:r 11.
earn e·rn 24.
earn (curdle) jɪrn 42, 91, 102, — *earning* (rennet) jɪrnɛn 102.
earock (pullet) i·rɪk 133, 144.
earth jɪrd 43, 91, 111.
easle eizl, i:zl 55, 101.
east i·st 11, 132.
eat e·t 11, 124, 141, 161, pt. et 161, e·tet 168, pp. e·tn, etn 141, 161, e·tet 168, — *eatmeat* e·tme·t 11.
eavesing i·zɪn 115.
ebb adj. eb 4, 26.
edder e·dɪr, edɪr, eðɪr 27, 109, — *eddering* e:drɪn, e:ðrɪn 100, 145.
eemost 'i·mɪst 8, 9, 15, 114, 149.
egg eg 26.
eident eidɪnt 53, 95, 109, 132.
eight ɑxt 32, 63, 150, — eighth ɑxt 150.
either e·ðɪr 110.
eke ik 140.
elbow elbɪk 133.
elder sb. eljɪr, eldɪr 27, 127, 128, 149.

eleven ɪ'ləivn 55, 70, 95, 150, — eleventh ɪ'ləivnt 150.
Ellis 'elɛs 81.
ember emɛr 123.
end sb. əim 54, 55. 68, 70, 71.
England 'ŋlən 124, — English ŋlɪʃ 42, 123.
enough m'jux, pl. ɪ'nʌu, ən'ju: 36, 38, 112.
enow (just now) əi'nu:, əiv'nu: 115.
(en)tice təis 78.
ere e:ᵊr 11.
errand i:rɪn 9, 66, 87, 124.
ettercap 'etɛrkap 27.
ettle etl 27, 95, 101.
even adj. əivn 55, 95, 115.
even(ing) iᵛn, i:vn 9, 114, 115, iᵛvnɪn 73, 98.
evil iᵛvl 13.
ewe jʌu 58.
ewie jʌui 59.
expect ɪk'spek 131.
eye i: 11, 151, pl. i:n 137, 138, dim. pl. iᵛnɪz 148, — eye brows iᵛbru:z 137.

f

fact fak 131.
fail feᵛɛl, feᵛl 23, 65.
fain feᵛɛn 22.
fair sb. feᵛᵊr 21.
fair adj. feᵛᵊr 23, 72, 131, — adv. feᵛrle (truly) 64, 72, 74.
fall fa: 30, 141, 164, pt. feᵛl 26, 164, 165, pp. fa:n 164.
fallow falə 32.
false fa:s 30.
family feᵛmle 25, 76.
far fa:r 30, 149, comp. farɛr 33, 149, sup. farɛst 149.
farm feᵛrm 24, 96, — farmhouse feᵛrm'huᵛs 79.
farrier 'fereər 24.
farthing fardɪn 33, 109, 145.
fashion faʃɛn 95.
fast fest 27, 132.
fasten fesn 132, 143.
fasten's-een 'festɛrnz'iᵛn 27.
fat fat 32, — *fattie* fate 143.
father fadɪr 32, 38, 70, 109.
fathom fadɪm 93, 109.
fatten fatn 143.
-favoured -fa:rt 115.
feal (sod) feᵛl 20, 79.
fear fi:r 9, 133, — *feartie* fi:rtɪ 143.
feather feðɪr 27, 110.
feck fek 26, 78. — *feckly* fekle 74, — *feckless* feklɛs 131.
fee sb. fi: 9, 114, vb. fi: 63.
feed fiᵛd 9, 170, pt. pp. fed 170.
feel fiᵛl 9.
feer fi:r 13.
fendless 'feᵛnlɛs 78, 125.
ferlie sb. (wonder) feᵛrle 10.
fern feᵛrn 24, — *ferntickle* ferntɪkl 42.
fernyear fern(j)ir 81.
fetch fes 26, 107, 136, 162, 163, 166, pt. fis 162, 163, pp. fesn 95, 162, 163.
fettle sb. fetl 27, 145, vb. fetl, fʌtl, fɪtl 117; cf. whittle vb.
fevered (feverish) 'fɪvɪrt 87.
few fjʌu 58.
fey fəi† 54.
ficher fɪxɛr, fʌxɛr 50.
field fi:dl 10, 69, 103.
fiend interj. fɪnt 82, 133.
fifth fɪft 43, 66, 133, 150.
fight feçt 29, 132, 159, pt. foxt 159, pp. foxn 159.
fikie fəiki 53.
file (to dirty), see defile.
fill fʌl 49, 102, pp. fʌlt 67.
fillet (thigh) fɪlɛt 41, fʌlət 49.
filth fɪlθ 66.
find fɪn 17, 67, 68, 158, pt. fan 33, 67, 158, pp. fʌn 67, 124, 158.

fine fəin 54.
finger fɪŋɪr 41, 123, dim. fɪŋərɪ 100, — fingerstall fɪŋərstiˑl 19, 79.
fir fɪr 41.
fire fəiːr 53, vb. (bake) fəiːr 84.
first fɪrst 41, 50, 150.
fish fɪʃ 5, 41, 47, 105, — fishguts fɪʃgʌts 82/3.
fit fɪt 42.
five faˑəv 7, 52, 114, 150.
fixture fɪkstər 105.
flachter(spade) flaxtər spaːd 32.
flail fleˑəl 23, 72.
flan flaˑn (ə rik) 31.
flannel flanən 73.
flea fleː †, fleç 113.
fleck flek 26.
flee fliː 9.
fleed fliˑd 103.
fleetin's flitmz 10.
Fleming fliˑmɪn 11, 70.
flesh fleʃ 105, — *flesher* fleʃər 145.
fley(ed) fləi(t) 54.
flinderkin ˈflɪnərkɪn 40, 144.
fling flɪŋ, pt. flaŋ, pp. flʌŋ 158, — flinger (cow) flɪŋɪr 145.
float floˑt 35.
flocht(ed) floxt(ɛt) 112.
floor fliːr 8, 19, fluːər 36.
flourish sb. flurɪʃ 19.
flower fluːər 37.
fly sb. fliː 114.
fly vb. fliː 9, 43, 157, pt. fluː 157, pp. flʌun 58, 157.
foal foˑl 3, 34, 102, dim. fole 64.
foam sb. fiˑm 17, vb. foˑm 18, 21, 35, Deeside sb., vb. feˑm.
fob fob 36.
fodder fodɪr 109.
fog fog 35.
foison fuˑzɪn 38, 87, 95, 104.
fold faːl 30, 77, 126, 171, pt., pp. faːlt 76, 128, 140, 171.
folk fʌuk 58, 134, 147.
follow folɛ 140.
fool fiˑl 84.
foot fɪt 1, 45, 47, 60, 67, 147, pl. fit 1, 9, 63, 147, dim. fɪte, pl. fitiz 143, 144, — *footroadie* fɪtˈrodɪ 89.
for for, foˑər 83.
force fors 22.
ford fjuːərd 36, in cpds. -fjurd 80.
fordle vb. fordl 35.
foremost ˈformɪst 149.
fore-stall ˈforˈstaː 30.
forfoughten fərˈfoxn 95, 132.
forget forˈjɪt 43, forˈget 130, pt. forˈgot 130, pp. forˈgotn 130.
forgetle forˈgetl 146.
form (long bench) fʌrm 51.
fortnight ˈfortnɪçt 147.
foul (dirty) fuˑl 37, 75, 102.
foumart fuˑmərt 37, 102, 111, 132/3.
four fʌuˑr 58, 70, 72, 150.
fourth fort 133, 150, 151.
foushach fuʃɪç 113.
foutre futɪr 38.
fowl fuˑl 37.
frame freˑm 21.
Freddy fredɪ 73, 90.
freeze friːz 9, 157, pt. froːz 157, pp. froˑzn 35, 157.
freight fraxt 32.
freit freˑt 11.
frem't (strange) freˑmt 4, 26, 133.
Friday freddɪ 53, 73, 81, 90.
friend (relation) friˑn 9, 61, 66, 67.
fright frɪçt 41.
frighten frɪçn 143.
fro (from) feː, fe 20, 100.
frost frost 35.
froth froːð 70, 108.
frow frʌu 58.
full fuː 37, in cpds. -fɪ 75, as suffix -fɪ, -fɛ.
fumble fʌml 117.

fung (fling) fʌŋ 48, 78, 123.
furniture 'fʌrnetɛr 105.
furth fʌrθ 48.
fussy fʌse 73.
fusted fuʃtɪt 104.
fuzzy fʌzɪ 73.
fyooach fjuiç 113.

g

gab gɑb 32.
gable ge·l 21, 23, 114.
gad gɑd 32, 63.
gaik ge·k 20.
gain ge·ɛn 22.
gait ge·t 3, 22, 129.
gallows (braces) gɑlɛs 103, 131, 139, 148, — *gallows-button* 'gɑles'bʌtɛn 90.
game ge·m 21, — *gamie* geme 143.
gander gɑnɪr 33.
gang (load) gjɑŋ 91.
gaol dʒəil 55.
gar gɑ:r, gɑr 30, 31, 33, 76, 130.
garden ge·rdɪn 24, 73, 93, 125, — gardener ge·rnɛr 125.
garter ge·rtɛn 24, 73.
gate jɪt 43, 130.
gather geðɪr, ge·ðɪr 27, 110, 129.
gawk gʌuk 58.
gay adj., adv. (considerable, very) gəi(ən) 55, 77, 84, 99.
geal dʒi:l 18, 136.
gear gi:r 11.
gelding gɛldɪn 42, 130.
get get 3, 26, 130, 159, pt. got, gɑt† 3, 159, pp. gotn 159.
gets gits 11.
gey(an), see gay.
ghost go·st, ge·st 21, 27.
gift gɪft 42.
gill dʒɛl 41.
gimmer gɪmɛr 40, 41, 123.
gin (if) gɪn 114.
girnel gɪrnɛl 43, 101, 102.
give gi:, gɪ 13, 68, 82, 114, 161, pt. ge:, gɪd 20, 114, 161, pp. gi·n 114, 161.
gizzen gɪzn 5, 40, 95, 130, 143.
glad gle·d 22, 129.
glaiket gle·kət 20.
glass gles 4, 18, 27.
glebe gli·b 4, 61.
gley gləi 54, 140.
gloaming glo·mɛn 35.
glove glɪv 45, 46, 67.
gnaw (said of pain) (g)njɑ:v 91, 116, 129.
go gjɑŋ, gɪŋ, ge:, gɪ 20, 82, 174, pres.p. gjɑ:n, djɑ:n 30, 91, 130, 141, pt. gɪd, gɪd 140, 174, pp. gi·n 17, 67, 174.
goat go·t 3, 21, 61.
God gwi·d 9.
gold sb. gʌud 58, 126, adj. (yellow) gwi·l 8, 9, 126.
good gwi·d 9, 60, 129, 148, comp. betɛr 27, 78, 148, sup. best 26, 148, — *goodless* gwi·dlɪs 75, — *goodbrother* gwi·d'bri·dɪr 79, — *goodwife* gwid'wəif 79.
goose gi·s, pl. gi·s 8, 9, 19, 87, 129, 147.
gosling gozlɪn 145.
gowan gʌun 58, 71.
gowpen gʌupn 58, — *gowpenful* gʌupmfɪ 75, 94.
graip gre·p 4, 20, 146.
graith gre·θ 61, 139.
grand grɑ·n 67.
grannie grɑne, grʌnɪ 6, 143.
grass gɪrs 42, 100, 103.
grave sb. gref, gre:v 22, 27, 87, 114.
gravel gre·vl 22, 70.
gray gre: 22.
graze gre·z, grɑ·z 103.
grease kri·ʃ 104, 133.

great greˑt 11, Deeside greit 56.
greed griˑd 9.
greeshach griˑʃɪç 113.
greet (weep) grit 10, 160, pt. grat 3, 33, 160, pp. grʌtn 160.
griddle grɪdl 84, 102.
grieve sb. griːv 9, 114.
grilse grɪls 41.
grin grɪn 39, (whine) gɪrn 43, 102, 129.
grind grɪn 39, 81, 158, pt. grʌn, grʌn 158, pp. grʌn 158, — grindstone ˈgrɪnstiˑn 40, 81.
grip grɪp 42, 76.
gristle gɪrsl 103.
groan vb. greˑn (Auchterless) 17, groˑn 35.
groop grip 8.
ground grʌn 35, 48, 89, 129, vb. 77.
grow grʌu 58, 164, pt. gruː 164, pp. grʌun 71, 164.
growthy grʌuθi 74.
gruel gruˑəl 37.
guddle gʌdl 48, 101.
guess gɪs 43, 130.
guide (to save) gəid 54, 140.
gull gʌl 48.
gulsoch gʌlʃɪç 104.
gum giˑm 8, 9, 67.
gusset gʌʃɛt 104.

h

hack (chop) hʌk 76.
haik heːk, heˑk 20, 63.
hail heˑɛl 23, 26, 70, — hailstones ˈheˑɛlstiˑnz 23.
haims heˑmz 21, 70.
hain (save) heˑɛn 22, 72, pres.p. heːnɛn 72, pp. heˑɛnt 72.
hair heːᵊr 10, 65, 82, — hairy (mouldy) here 146, — *hairy-moulded* heremuldɪt 65, cf. hoary.
haiveless heːvlɛs 21, 75.
half haːf, haˑf 30, 139, 151.
halfling haˑflɛn 88, 145.
hallow halɛ 131.
Hallow-een halɛˈiˑn 115.
hamel heˑml 101, 128.
hammer hemɛr, heˑmər 22, 27.
hand haˑn 31, 123, 139, dim. hanɪ 77, 125, — -handed hanɪt, haˑnt 124, — handwriting haˑn o vrit 16.
handle hanl 145.
hang hɪŋ 5, 42, 158, 166, pt. haŋ 158, haŋt 139, 168, pp. hʌŋ 158, 159, haŋt 168.
hantle hantl 32, 84, 146.
hap (cover) hap 140.
hard hard 33, — harden hardn 143.
hare heːᵊr 21.
hare-shard heˑᵊrʃad 105.
harm heˑrm 24.
harns harnz 33.
harrow vb. harɛ 74.
harry here 24.
harvest heˑrst 24, 115.
haste sb. heˑst 82.
haste vb. hɪst 40, 82.
hat hat 32.
hattock hʌtək 51, 144.
Hatton ˈhatɛn 80.
haugh haːx 30, 113.
haunch hɪnʃ 42, 136.
have heː 21, 70, 82, 84, 114, 172, hɪv 84, 88, ɑ, ə 172. neg. hɪnə 82, 173, 3. sg. hɪz 40, hɪz 172, pt. hɪd, hɪd 115, 140, 173, 174, pp. hɪd 173, hiˑn 17, 114, 173, 174.
hawthorn haːθorn 29.
hay həi 54, 144.
haze heːz 22.
hazel heːzl 21.
he hiː 9, 152, hi, hɪ, ɪ 152.

head hi·d 11, 67, 115.
heal sb. hi·l 12.
heal vb. he·l 12.
heap hip 11, 12.
hear hi:r 170, pt., pp. hard 25, 33, 34, 140. 170, he·rd 24, 25, 170.
hearken harkŋ 33, 94.
hearse he·rs 24.
heart hert 25, — hearty herte 25.
hearth he·rθ 24.
heat sb. hit 11, 17, vb. 11, 170, pt., pp. het 27, 66, 170.
heather hedɪr 27, 109, — heatherer 'hedərər 145.
heave (lift) he:v 12, 56, 88, pt. he:vd 140, 167, pp. he:vn, ho:vn 168, — (breathe heavily) hi:v 12.
heaven hɪvn 56, 95, 115.
heavy hɪvɪ 44, 131.
heed hi·d 9.
heel hi·l 9, 59.
heifer hifɪr 11, 113.
height hɪçt 43, 66, 112, 133, — heighten hɪçn 76, 95, 143.
heir e:ᵉr 25, pt. e·rt 76.
hell hel, he·l 4, 26, 59, 69.
help hɛlp 42, 167.
hem hem, he·m 26, 140.
hemp hmp 42, 97, — hempen hmpm 21, 94.
hen hen, he·n 4, 26, 67.
her hɪr, (ɪ)r 152, hers hɪrz 152.
herd hɪrd 25.
here hi:r 15.
herring he·rɪn 10, 66, 97, 98, herən 27, 66.
heugh hjux 36, 112, 113, çjux 113.
hide həid 155, 157, 166, pt. he·d 155, ho·d 156, pp. hɪdn 155, ho·d 156.
high hiç 4, 10, 61, 112, 113, 149, comp. hiçɪr 113, 149, hiçist 75.
Highland hi·lm 50, 73, 113.
hill hɪl, hʌl, hɛl 41, 47, 50, 59, *-hill* hʌl 80, dim. hɪlə 144, hilly hɪlə 59.
hillock (heap) hʌlək 49, 144.
hinder vb. hmər 40.
hinder adj. hmɪr 68, 149.
hindmost 'hmmɪst 149.
hint hmt 42.
hire həi·r 53.
hirple hɪrpl 101.
his hɪz, ɪz, z, s 152.
hit hɪt 42, 162, 166, pt. hat 162, pp. hɪtn, hʌtn 162.
hive ha·ev 52.
hoarse he·rs 20.
hoary-mouldy 'here'muldɪt 20, 146.
hoast ho·st 35, 90, 132.
hobble hɑbl 31.
hoe çjʌu 58, 92, 113.
hold hɑd 63, 76, 126, 164, pt. hi·ld 9, 66, 126, 164, 165, pp. hɑdn 84, 164.
hole ho·l 34.
hollow hɑlə 32.
home he·m 20.
hooch hux 2.
hoof hɪv 45, 46, 67, 114.
hook çjuk 36, 113.
hoolie hilɪ 8, 59, 64, 114.
hoot interj. hut 84.
hope ho·p 35, hʌup 59.
horn horn 35, — horn end ho·rən əin 96.
horse hors 35, 100, 147, 148, — horse-shoes horsʃi·n 138.
hose ho:z 35, 134.
hot het, he·t 4, 20, 27, 64, — hot-blooded he·t blidɪt 65.
hough (leg) hox 36, 66, 112.
hound hʌn 48, 68.
hour u:ᵉr 37.
house hu·s 40, 60, 61, 81, 87, 143, pl. husɪz 88, 139.
how fu: 117.

howe hau 58.
howk hauk 58.
howp haup 59.
hundred hanɪr, hanər 47, 48, 77, 150.
hunger haŋər 123, — hungry haŋ°rɪ 76, 100.
hurb harb 100.
hurl harl 101.
hurry hare 74, 140.
hurt hart 76, 169, pt., pp. hartet 169.
hussy hɪzɪ 44, 46.
hyne həin 53, 108.
hyse ha·ez 53.
hyte həit 56.

i

I a·e, a, ə, ʌ 152.
ice əis 53.
idle-set əidlsit 13.
ill ʌl 12, 49, 84, 148, — ill-favoured 'ʌlfa:rt 30, — *ill-less* 'ʌllɛs 75.
in ɪn, ɨ 84.
ingle-nook ŋlnjuk 123.
Inglis ŋlz 107.
inmost 'mmɪst 149.
in of 'mo·t, 'ment 99.
intend m'te·n, pt., pp. m'tent 124.
intill 'ɛntʌl 81.
invite m'vi·t 18.
iron əirn 53, 97, — iron-ore əirn'i:r 97.
it it, ɪt, ɨt, ɛt, ət, t 76, 83, 84, 139, 152, hɨt 152, — its ɨt, ɨts, t 152.

j

Jack dʒok 36.
jade dʒa·d 136.
James dʒe·mz 81.
jaw (wave) dʒa: 30, 82.
jaw (to dash) dʒa: 30.
Jimmy 'dʒɪmɛ, 'dʒɨmɛ 81, 143.
join(er) dʒəin(ər) 54, 145.
joint dʒəint 54.
joists dʒi·sts 18.
jouk dʒuk 82.
judge dʒudʒ 136.
jug dʒug 37, 136.
just dʒɨst 40.

k

keek sb., vb. kik 1, 13, 70.
keen ki·n 9, 132.
keep kip 62, 82, 170, pt., pp. kipit 170.
keerack ki·rɪk 133.
ken ken, ke·n, kɪn 26, 81, 86, 88, 135.
kenspeckle 'kenspekl 146.
kettle ketl 27, 135.
key kəi 54, 134.
kick kɨk 81, kicker (cow) kɨkər 81.
kill kɨl 41, 67.
kiln kɨl 41, 99, 134.
kilt kɨlt 67.
kim kɨm 44.
kimmer kɨmɛr 46.
kin (relations) kɨn 41, 132.
kind sb. kəin, kɪn 53, 67, 81.
kindle kenl 28, 75, 135, — kindler kenlɪr 101, 145.
king kiŋ 13, 14, 68, 86, 98.
kink (trick) kɪŋk 135.
kinkhoast 'kɪŋkho·st 135.
kipie kəipi 53.
kiss kɨs 1, 41.
kitchen kɨtʃe 41, 77, 86, 134, kɨtʃɪ, kɪtʃɪ 77.
kitten kɨtlɛn 75, 135, 145.
kittle vb., adj. kɨtl 42, 135, 146.
knee sb. kni: 60, 132, 134, vb. 140.
kneevlick kni:vlɪk 11, 113, 132, 144.
knife knəif 52, 53, 68, 114, 132, pl. knəifs 139, dim. knəifi-z 143.
knoll knʌu 58, 132.

I

lachter laxtər 32, 132.
lad lad, la·d 32, 63, 69, 73.
ladder ledɪr 109.
ladle le·dl 21.
lady ledɪ 115.
laik le:ᵊk 20.
lair vb. le:ᵊr 20.
lair le:ᵊr 23.
laird le·rd 100.
lamb la·m 31, 67, 123, dim. 'lameke 76, 144, vb. 65, 78, pp. la·mt 124.
lame le·m 21.
Lammas 'lamɛs 32.
land la·n 31, 32, 124, vb. pt. la·nt 124.
larch larək 100, 136, 148.
large le·rdʒ 24.
lark 'lɪvrɪk 66, 81, 103, 116.
lass las 32, pl. lasɪz 73, dim. lase-z 73, laseke 144.
last vb. lest 27, 66.
late le·t 11, 22, 148, comp. le·tər, sup. le·təst 148, last, la·st 32, 148, 149.
lathe le: 108.
lather laðɪr̃, la:ðɪr 32, 110.
lathing laθən 88.
Latin latn 93.
laugh lax 32, 112, 141, 162, 163, pt. lux 36, 162, pp. laxn 95, 162.
lave le:v 20, 114.
law la: 29.
lawyer la:vjər† 116.
lay le: 22, 65, 131, — layer le:ᵊr 71, 72.
lea ləi 54.
lead (plumbum) li·d 11, 67.
lead vb. li·d 11, 170, pt., pp. led 27, 170.
leaf li·f 11, pl. li·fs 139.
lean vb. li·n 11, 170, pt., pp. li·nt 170.
leap lʌup 58, 113, 160, pt. lap 160, pp. lʌpm 94, 160, lʌupit 168.
learn le·rn 24.
least li·st 11, 148, le·st, lest 27, 66, 148.
leather leðɪr 27, 110.
leave li:v 11, 56, 170, pt., pp. left 76, 170.
leaven levɪn 44.
lecture lektər 105.
leg leg 26, 129.
leggings legɪnz 145.
lend le·n, len 26, 68, 77, 171, pt., pp. le·nt 171, sb. le·n 68.
length lnθ 42, 97.
less les 148.
let lat 32, 34, 66, 82, 83, 165, pt. lit 10, 63, 67, 165, pp. latn 84, 93.
letter le·tər 25.
lever le·vɪr 25.
liar li:ᵊr 71, 145.
licence li·ʃns 18, 104.
lick lɪk 42.
lid lɪd 41.
lie la·e 52, 131, 161, pt. le: 22, 161, pp. la·en 161.
lie (mentiri) li: 9, 63, 140, pt., pp. li:t 63.
life ləif 12, 53, 139.
lift vb. lɪft 39, 41.
lift (sky) lɪft 6.
light(s) lɪçt(s) 43.
lighten (grow less heavy, less dark) lɪçn 143.
lightning lɪçnən 132.
lightsome lɪçtsəm 148.
like ləik 66, 135.
likely ləiklɪ, lɪklɛ 66, 74.
limmer lɪmər 123.
linnet lɪntɪ 40, 43.
lintel lɪntl 40.
lippen lɪpm 94, 143.
lippie lɪpɛ 44.

lith (joint) lɪθ 5, 41, 108.
lithe la·eð 52, 87.
lithe vb. la·eð 88, pt. la·eðt 139.
little lɪtl 13, 148.
littling lɪtlɪn 43, 145.
live lɪv 39, 44, 88, 114.
liver lɪvɪr 44.
Lizzie lɪzɪ 73.
load sb. le·d 20, dim. lodɪ 73.
load vb. lod 169, pt., pp. lod 169.
loaf lo·f 21, 88, pl. lo·fs 139.
loam lo·m 21, 35, 77, dim. pl. lemez 21, — loamy (adj.) lome 35.
loan(ing) lo·n(ɛn) 35.
loath le·θ 20.
loch lox 3, 35.
loft laft 31.
loiter leitər 54.
London 'lanɪn 125.
-lone(s) li·n(z) 153.
long laŋ 12, 33, 67.
look luk 36.
loom li·m 8, 19.
loon lu·n 44.
loose laus 58.
loosen lauz 59.
loot vb. lut 37.
lore le:ər 20, 71.
lose lo:z 34, 70, 87, 88, 167, 170, pt., pp. lost 76, 88, 170.
lot lot 35, 60, 73.
louse lu·s 147, pl. leis 53, 147.
love lu:, lav 114.
low le·ç 20, 61, 75, 112, 133.
low lau 58.
lowder laudɪr 59.
lower vb. le·çn 95, 143.
lozen lo·zn 18, 35, 95.
Lucy lusi 73.
lug lag 48, 84, 131, 138, *lugged* lagɪt 146.
lukewarm ˌlu:'warm 38, 79.
lum (chimney) lam 43, 138.
lung laŋ 48.

m

Macduff mak'daf 89.
Macgill ma'gɪl 89/90.
Mackie make 73.
Maggie magɪ 73.
mad mad 63.
make mak 32, 64, 70, pt., pp. me·d 21, 23, 61, 132.
maid me·d 24.
main me·ɛn 22.
mains, see domain.
malt ma:t 30, 62.
man man, ma·n 33, 82, mɪn 82, pl. men, me·n 26, 147, 148, dim. manɛ, maneke, 77, 134, 144, pl. menez 143, 148.
mane me·ɛn 18, 21, 22.
mang mjaŋ 91.
manner me·nɛr 25.
many mone 36, 74, 148.
March me·rtʃ 24.
mardle mardl 101, 146.
mare mi:r 11, 19.
marriage 'meredʒ 136.
marrow 'marɛ 32.
marry mere 24, 140.
Martinmas 'me·rtemәs 24.
marvel 'me·rvl 24, 99.
Mary 'me·rɛ 73.
mash vb. ma:sk 106, 132.
master mestər 27.
mathe me:ð 21, 60, 87, 138.
matter me·tɛr 25.
mattress mә'tras 78.
maun ma·n, man, mәn 31, 176.
May mәi 55.
may me: 22, 175, pt. mɪθ, mɪçt 39, 41, 113, 175.
me mi:, mɪ, mә 63, 152.
meal (repast) mi·l 9, 102.
meal (flour) mi·l 11, — mealy mili 65.
mealock 'mi:lik 144.
mean adj. mi·n 11, 19.

mean vb. mi·n 11, 19, 170, pt., pp. mi·nt 170.
measles mɛrlz 42, 101.
measure mɪzɪr 44, 105.
meat (food) me·t 11, 62, vb. 152.
meet mit 62, 170, pt., pp, met 27, 170.
melder meljɪr 127, 145.
melt mɛlt 42, pt., pp. mɛltɪt 167.
mend me·n 26, 124, 171, pt., pp. me·nt 171.
mengyie me·ŋɪ, mjaŋɪ 26, 91, 123.
merchant me·rtʃɛn 24, 95, 131, 139.
mercy 'me·rse 24.
mere mi:r 19.
merry 'mɛrɛ 41, 131.
mew (gull) ma: 29, — sea mew si:'ma: 83.
mickle (big) mʌkl 49, 101, 135, 145, comp. mʌklɛr, mʌklɛst 149.
midden mɪdɪn 39, 41, 93.
middle mɪdl 41.
mids (middle furrows) mɪdz 41.
mile məil 53, 102.
milk mɛlk 41, milk an' loaf (sops) 'mɛlkn'lo·f 75, vb. 75, — milker (cow) mɛlkər 145.
mill mʌl 49, 99, — mill-town 'mɛltɪn 81.
miller mʌlɛrt 132, 145.
Milne mɛl 99
Milton 'mɛltɪn 80
mind məin 17, 53, 67, vb. 124, 171, pt., pp. məint, Deeside also məinət 124, 171.
mine məin 53, 152.
minnow 'mɪnɪn 99.
mint mɪnt 5, 40.
minute 'mi·nɪt 13.
mirk(y) mɛrk(e) 41
mischief mɪs'tʃi·f 78.
mistake mɪ'stak 63, vb. pp. mɪ'sti·n 132.
mittens (knitted gloves without fingers) mɪtənz 39, 93.
mixture mɪkstɛr 105.
moan sb. mi·n 17, 19.
molie mole 143.
Monday 'mʌnən,dɛ 48, 66, 81, 99.
month mʌnθ 47, 48.
moon mi·n 8, 19, 36.
moor mi:r 8, 19, mju:ᵊr 36.
morn(ing) morn(ɛn) 35, 73, 98.
mossy 'mose 87
mother mɪðɪr, mɪdɪr 39, 45, 109,
motty 'mote 35, 146.
moudie (mole) mudɪ 126, — *moudiewarp* 'mudɪwɑrt 33, 132.
mould vb. mu:ld 126, 128, — moulder (one who shapes) mu·ldɪr 127.
moulds (earth) mu·lz 8, 36, 126.
mourn mʌrn 48.
mouse mu·s 147, 148, pl. məis 53, 147.
mouth mu: 18, 37, 64, 108, dim. mu·i 64, — mouthful mu·fɛ 75.
move mi:v 8, 60.
mow mʌu 58, 164, pt. mʌud 167, pp. mʌun 164, 168.
mow (stack) mu: 37.
moyen moɪɛn, mo·ən 1, 71.
much mʌkl 13, 148, comp. me:ᵊr 20, 23, 148, sup. me·st, mest 20, 27, 148.
muck mʌk 48.
multure mu·tɪr 128, 145.
murder mʌrdɪr 49, 109.
murl mʌrl 101.
mutch mʌtʃ 136.
mutton mʌtɛn 93, — muttony 'mʌtɛne 100.
my ma·e, ma, mə 52, 152.

n

nag njɑg 91.
nail ne·ɛl 23, dim. ne·lɛ 72.

Nairn neˑrn 96.
naked njɑˑkɛt, neˑkɛt 30, 91.
name neˑm 22.
narrow nere 24, 148.
nasty neste 27.
natter njɑtər 91.
natural neˑtrɛl 105.
nature neˑtɛr 25, 105.
nave neːv 21.
near niːr 81, 148, 149, — *near hand* ˈnirhan 81.
neck nek 26.
needle niːdl 9.
neighbour niˑpər 9, 113, 133, — neighbourhood ˈniˑpərˌhiˑd 11.
Nell neˑl 26, Nellie nele 72.
nephew nefe, nevɪ, nefjɪ 87.
nest nest 24, 26.
net nɛt 43.
nether neðɪr 149, — nethermost ˈneθmɪst 149.
never nɪvɪr 79, 84.
new njuː 38, 81, — *Newburgh* (ɛ ðə) ˈniˑbrɪ 10, 81, — *Newton* ˈnjuˑtɪn 80.
newsy njuːzi 146.
next niˑst 9, 66, 113, 148.
nice nəis 54.
nieve (k)nɪv 44, 113, 144, — *nieveful* nɪvfɪ 75.
night nɛçt 41.
nine nəin 53, 150, — ninth nəint 150.
nobody ˈneˑbɑdɪ 51.
none niˑn 17, 67.
nook njuk 36, 80.
nor (than) nor 90.
nose nɪz 44, pl. nɪzɪz, noˑzɪz 148.
note noˑt 3.
now nuː 64.
nowt nʌut 58, 147.
nuisance njuˑzɪns 88.
nut nɛt 44.

o

oak oˑk 21, — oaky jeke 91, — oaky fair ˈ(j)ekeˈfeːᵊr 21.
oam sb., vb. joˑm 21, 35, 92.
oar oːɛr 21.
oath eˑθ, oˑθ 20, 21, 27.
oat-seeds eˑtsiˑd 21, — oat-bread eˑt briˑd 21, — oat-cakes oˑtkeˑks 21.
object (odd-looking thing) ˈobdʒek 131.
oblige əˈbliːdʒ 18.
of o, oˑ, iː, ə 83, 114, of all əˈvɑː 114.
off ɑf 31, off of ˈɑfoˑt, ˈɑfənt 99.
often ɑfn 31.
oil iːli, əil 8, 54, 77.
ointment ˈəintmɪnt 114.
old ɑːl 30, 126, 149, comp. ɑˑlɛr 77, 127, 128, 149, sup. ɑlɛst 149, — *Auld Clootie* ɑːlˈkluti 89, — *auld-farrand* ˈɑːl-ˈfarɛnt 96, 132, — *Auldton* ˈɑˑltɪn 80.
on on, o 83, 84, on of ˈonoˑt, ˈonənt 99.
once iˑns, iˑnz 87, 151.
one eː 4, 20, iˑn 17, 150, 153, — onefold ˈeːfɑːl 151.
onion ɪŋɪn 47, 98, 123.
ootmost ˈutmɪst 149.
open oˑpm 35, 94.
opinion əˈpɪŋɪn 98.
ore iːr 8, 97.
orrals orlz 101.
orts orts 35.
other ɪðɪr 45, 84, 110.
ouch interj. ux 82.
ought oxt 36, 176.
ounce ʌns 48.
our(s) uːɪr, wɛr, wər, uːrz 44, 46, 152.
out ut, out of ˈutoˑt, ˈutənt 99.
outling uˑtlɪn 145.
over ʌuɪr, ʌur 58, 72, 115.

owe jɑːv (Gamrie) 116.
owing to ˈoˑn tə 71.
owl uˑlɪt 37, 73.
own eˑɛn, neˑɛn 22, 82, 153.
ox oks, pl. ʌusn 59, 95, 138, — *work-ox* ˈwɑrkoks 138.
oxter okstɛr 36, 113.

p

pace (Easter) peˑs 107.
paddock (frog) pʌdɪk, podɪk 51, 73.
page peˑdʒ 136.
pail peˑl 23, 72, — pailful peˑlfɪ 75.
pain peˑɛn 22.
paling peˑlɛn 21, 72.
pan pɑn, dim. ˈpɑnɛkɪn 76.
pane piˑn 18.
pare peːəˑr 21.
parish peres, peˑres 25, 107.
park pɑrk 33.
part peˑrt 24.
partridge pertrɛk 24, 136, 148.
pass pɑˑs 76.
pasture pɑˑstər 105.
pay pəi 55, 140, — payer pəiˑr 71.
pea pəi, pl. pəiz, pɪz 44, 55, 56, 67, 148.
pear piːr 11, 19, 70.
peat pit 1, 11, 61, — peaty piti 86.
peek vb. pik 18.
peep pip 18.
peer piːr 19.
pelting pɛltɪn 42.
pencil pensl, dim. penslɪ 101.
penny pene 74, 103, 148, pl. pens, penez 148.
perfect ˈperfɛt, ˈperfek 131.
pest pest 26.
Peter pitɪr 75, — *Peterkin* ˈpiˑtərkɪn 144.
pheasant feˑzɪn 95, 104, 131.
pick pəik 56.
pickle pʌkl 49, 145, dim. pʌklɛ 76.
pier piːr 19.
pinie (pinafore) piˑni 13, 14.
pinion pɪŋɪn 40, 98.
pipe pəip 53.
pirl pɛrl 41, 101.
piss pɛʃ 104.
pit pɛt 1, 41.
pitch sb. pɛk 135, vb. pɛk 135, — pitcher (marble) pɪkɛr 136.
Pitdoulsie pɛˈduˑlzɪ 89.
pity piti, piˑti 13, 99.
place pleˑs 65.
plait plet, pt., pp. plet 169.
plane pleˑɛn 22, 71.
play(ing) pleɪ, pleˑɛn 22, 140.
pleasure plezɪr 105.
plough plux, pljux, pluː 36, 88, 92, 112, 140.
ploy ploɪ 1.
pluck sb. plʌk 48.
poind piˑn 14, 16, 17, 54, 68, 124.
points (bootlaces) pəints 54.
poison puˑzɪn 2, 38, 95, 104.
poke sb. pjok 35, 92.
poke vb. pʌuk 59.
pool piˑl 8.
poor piːr 8, 19, 84.
pork pʌrk 51.
porridge potɛtʃ 36, 79, 89, 136.
post (stick) post, cpds. fir-, larch-fɪr-, larɛk-ˈpost 79.
post post 35, — *postie* poste 143.
pot pot 32, dim. pote 90, ˈpoteke 144.
(po)tato taˑte 19, 30, 78, 86, 90.
pouch (pocket) putʃ 37, 136, 138.
poultry pʌltrɪ 48.
pound pʌn 48, 85, — (note) pʌum 70, 71.
pour puːr 37, 65, 72, 76, 83, sb. dim. purɪ 72.
pow pʌu 58.
powder pudɪr 37.

power puːˈr 37, 71, — powerless puːrlɪs 75
pran praˑn 76
prawn preˑɛn 22, 71.
pray preː 71.
preen priˑn 9, 151.
presbytery ˈprezbɪtrɪ 90.
price prəis 54.
prize praˑez 54
proof priˑf 8, 19.
pudding (sausage) pʌdm 48, 65.
pule (sea-gull) pjuːl 71, 101.
pull puː 102, 140, pʌl 48.
pullet pʌlɛt 48, 86.
pulpit pupit 38, 102.
pumfle pʌmfl 97, 128.
pundlar pʌnlər 17, 49.
put[1] pɪt 44, 47, 82, 162, 166, pt. pat 162, pp. pɪtn, pʌtn 1, 94, 162.
put[2] pʌt (ðə stiˑn) 47, 48.

q

quail kweˑɛl 23, 31.
quarter kwɑrtɛr 85, 151.
quean (girl) kwəin 7, 55, 57, dim. ˈkwəinɪki 144.
queen kwiˑn 9, 57, 134.
queyock kweːək, kweˑk 22, 31, 133, 144.
quiet kweˑət 25, 31.

r

rad adj. reˑd 21.
rail reˑɛl 23.
rain reˑɛn 22, 70, 71, 131, pres.p. reˑnɛn 65.
raith (term) reθ 139.
rake reˑk 22.
rank oot rɑŋk ˈuˑt 33.
rantle rantl 33.
ran-tree raˑntriː 31.
rasp rɪsp 43.
rat rotɛn 36, 79, 93.
rather reˑðɪr, reðɪr, redɪr 21, 109.
ravel reˑvl 22.
raw raː 29.
rax rɑks 76.
read riˑd 9, 19, 170, pt., pp. red 170.
real reˑɛl 23, 72, really reˑle 72, 74.
ream riˑm 11.
reason rɪzɪn 44, 95.
reaver riːvɪr (o ə fəiˈr) 16, 145.
red riˑd 11, 19, 64, 67, — redhanded ˈriˑdhanɪt 124.
redd red 26, 113, 169.
reek rik 10, 13, 31, 61, 135.
reeshle riˑʃl 18, 104.
refuse rəˈfiːz 8.
rein rəin 55.
reprove rɪˈpriː 114.
require rəˈkweːər 25.
rest rɪst 43.
rib rɪb 138.
rick rʌk 48.
rickle rɪkl 50, 146.
ride rəid, pt. reˑd, pp. rɪdn 155, — rider rəidɪr 99.
ridge rɪg 129.
rift rɪft 42.
rigging rɪgɪn 41, 129.
right rɪçt 28, 43, 112.
rime (hoar frost) rəim 53.
ring sb. rɪŋ 40.
ring vb. rɪŋ 98, 158, pt. raŋ, pp. rʌŋ 158.
rip vb. rɪp 62.
rise raˑez 53, 155, pt. reːz, pp. rɪzn 155.
rive raˑev 53, 155, 157, pt. riːv, pp. rɪvn 155.
road rod 21, — roadside rodˈsəid 79.
roar roːɛr 3, 21.
Rob rob 73.
roddin rodɪn 36.
roll rʌu 58, 102, 140.

romp ramp 81.
rone ro·n, ro·ɛn 35, 70, 71.
roof ri·f 8, 46, 61, 87, — roofing rifɪn 88.
room ru·m 37.
roose ri:z 8, 87.
roost rist 8.
root rit 8.
rope re·p, ro·p 21, 60, 62, 79, — cpd. straw-rope stre·'re·p 79.
rose ro:z 35, 138.
rosetty 'rozɪtɪ 36.
rot rot, pp. rotn 93, 166, 168.
rough rox 36, 112.
round ru·n 36, 67, 124, sb. ru·n 83.
row sb. ra: 29.
row vb. rau 58, 140.
rowan (tree) rauɪn(tri:) 59.
rowp sb., vb. raup 58, 140.
rowt raut 58.
rub rab 76.
rug vb. rag 48, 131, 140.
ruive rɪv 45, 115.
run rɪn 41, 158, pt. ran, pp. ran 158.
rung raŋ 48, 113.
runted rantɪt 48.
rush sb. raʃ 33, 105.
rust ru·st 37, 66.
rye ra·e 52.

S

sack sɛk 26, 27, 59.
sad sad 32, 63.
saddle se·dl 22, dim. se·dlɪ 74.
sail se·sl, se·l 23.
saithe se:ð 108.
sake se·k 22, 59.
sale se·l 21, 23, 69, 102.
sallow sb. sa:x 30.
salt sa:t 30, 52, pl. salts 51, 52, adj. sa:t 84, — salty sa·te 65.
salve sa: 114.
same se·m 22, 99.
sand sa·n 65, vb. pp. sa·nt 124, — sandy sanɪ, sane 35, 65, 77.
Sandie sanɪ, sandɪ 125.
sark sark 33, 135.
satisfy 'setɪs'fi: 25.
Saturday 'setɛr,dɪ 27.
saucer sa:sɛr, dim. sa·s^{ə}rɛ 76.
savourless sa:rlɛs 115.
saw vb. ʃa:v 29, 104, 105, 116, 163, 166, pt. ʃu: 163, 164, pp. ʃa:vn, sa:n 163.
say se: 22, 131, 170, pt., pp. sed 131, 140, 170.
scabbed skabɪt 106.
scald ska:d 106, 126.
scathe sb. ske·ð 21, 106, 108.
scaum ska:m 106.
scavie ske·vɪ 106.
scheme ske·m 25, 106.
school skwi·l 9, 81, 106.
scold ska:l 30, 77, 106, 126, 128, 171, pt., pp. ska:lt 171.
Scots skots, skotʃ 107, 136.
scrachie skraxe 74.
scran skra·n 106.
scratch skrat 107.
scream skri·m 11.
screech skri·ç 106.
scrim skrɪm 106.
scroll skrau 58, 106.
scum sb. skam 67, 106, vb. (skim) skam 6, — scummer skamər 145.
scunner skanɛr 78, 106.
scythe sa·eð, sa·eθ 53, 87, — *scythe-board* 'sa·eðbrod 79.
seal (rope) se·l 20, 69.
seam si·m 11.
searce se·rtʃ 24, 136.
season sɪzɪn 44, 95.
seat sit 11.
sea-ware 'si:'wa:r 31.
second sekent 132, 150.
sedge seg 26, 129.

see si: 161, pt. sa: 63, 82, 161, pp. si·n 161.
seek sik 10, 59, 169, pt., pp. soxt 36, 169.
-self, -selves sel(z), se·l(z) 26, 113, 115, 153.
sell sel, se·l 26, 42, 65, 69, 169, pres.p. selɛn 65, pt. sa:l 126, selt 169, pp. selt 169.
send vb. se·n 26, 170, 171, pt., pp. se·nt 170, 171, sb. se·n 26.
serious 'se·reəs 25.
servant se·rvɪn 24, 95, 115, 131.
serve se:r 76, 78, 115, 139, gd. se·rɛn 115.
set set, se·t 26, 69, 169, pt., pp. set 169, sb. set, se·t 69.
settle satl 34.
seven seivn 55, 70, 95, 115, 150, seventh seivnt 150.
sew ʃu: 104, 140, — *sewster* ʃu·stɪr 145.
shade ʃe·d 22.
shake ʃak 32, 70, 141, 162, 163, pt. ʃuk 162, pp. ʃakŋ 95, 141, 162.
shaklebone ʃakl(bi·n) 79, 105.
shall sal 107, pt. sɪd 40, 46, 107.
shaltie ʃɪltɪ, ʃʌltɪ 42, 49, 51, 103, 104.
shamble ske·ml 22, 106, 123.
shame ʃe·m 22.
shank (stocking) ʃaŋk 33, 105.
sharger ʃargər 104.
sharn ʃarn 33, 105.
sharp ʃarp 33, — sharpen ʃarp 143, — *sharping stone* ʃarpɛn sti·n 143.
shaup ʃa:p 30, 63, 106.
shave ʃe:v 22, 167, pt. ʃe:vd 140, 167, pp. ʃe:vd, ʃe:vn 167, 168.
shaw ʃa: 29, 105.
shawl ʃa:l 64.
she ʃi:, ʃɪ 152.
sheaf ʃe·f 11, 139.
shear ʃi:r 11, 105, 167, pt. ʃi:rt 167, pp. ʃi:rt, ʃorn 35, 167.
shears (scissors) ʃi:rz 148.
sheath ʃi·θ 11.
shed (parting of the hair) ʃe·d 20, 69, 105.
sheep ʃip 9, 105, 147.
shelf skɪlf 42, 106, 139.
shell ʃa·l 33, 105.
shelter ʃɪltər 42.
shelving ʃɪlvɪn 42, 106.
shepherd ʃepɪrd, ʃɪpɪrd 10, 27, 41, 43, 66, 80, 105.
sheriff ʃɪrɛ 44, 80, 105, 114.
Shetland ʃetlən, ʃi·tlən 12, 103.
shilling ʃɪlɛn 41, 98, 100, 105, — shilling bit 'ʃɪlɛne 'bɪt 100.
shilocks ʃɪlɛks 44, 105.
shine ʃi·n 9, 15, 105, 167, pt., pp. ʃi·nt 167.
shingle sb. tʃɪŋl 136.
ship ʃɪp 105.
shire ʃəi^{i}r 53.
shite ʃəit 106, 155, pt. ʃe·t, pp. ʃɪtn 155.
shive (slice) ʃi:v 13, 15, 60, 105.
shoe ʃi:, pl. ʃi·n 8, 105, 138.
shoe vb. ʃi: 170, pt., pp. ʃod 140, 170.
shoot ʃit 4, 10, 105, pt. ʃot 157, pp. ʃot 142, 157.
shop tʃop 136.
shore ʃo:^{ə}r 105.
short ʃort 35, 105.
shoulder ʃudɪr 37, 102, 105, 109, 127, 128.
shove ʃɪv 44, 46, 67, 88, 105.
shovel ʃi·l, ʃɪl 8, 46, 88, 114, — shovelful ʃɪlfɪ 75.
shower ʃu:^{ə}r 37, 105.
shreds (pieces of poetry) skri·dz 11, 67, 106.
shroud ʃru·d 37, 105.
sib sɪb 41.

sick sɪk 10, 67, 134.
sick (call to a lamb, orphan lamb) sɛk 59.
side soɪd, *Deeside* di·'soɪd 80, — *sidelings* soɪdlɪnz 75.
sieve sɪv 44.
sift sɪft 41.
sigh sɪç 44, 67, 113.
sight sɪçt 41.
silence sɪ·lons 18, 19.
silver (money) sɪlɛr 68, 115.
simple sɪmpl 151.
sing sɪŋ 158, pt. sʌŋ 33, 158, pp. sʌŋ 48, 158.
singe sɪŋ 42, 129, 136, 158, 166, pt. sʌŋ 158, pp. sʌŋ 137, 158, 159.
single sɪŋl 41, 101, 123.
sink sɪŋk, pt. sʌŋk, pp. sʌŋk, sʌŋkŋ 158.
Sirs sɪrz , s'rz 48, 87.
sit sɪt 42, 89, 162, pt. sʌt, pp. sɪtn, sʌtn 162.
six sɑks 3, 34, 63, 150, — sixth sɑkst 133, 150.
size sa·ez 54, — sizeable sa·ezobl 54.
skail ske·l 26, 76, 106.
skaillie ska·lɪ, Deeside skoili 77, 106.
skew skju: 38, 106.
skill ski·l 13, 105.
skimpie skɪmpɪ 41, 106.
skin skɪn 41, 105.
skirl skɪrl 41, 101, 102, 106.
skirp skɪrp 41, 106.
skite skoit 53, 105.
skitter skɪtɛr 42, 106.
skran skra·n 31.
skreeds, see shreds.
skrim skrɪm 41, 106.
skull (trough) skʌl 106, — skullful skʌlfɪ 48.
slacken slakŋ 94, 143.
slap sb. slap, sla·p 31, 63, 69.
slate skle·t 106, 132.
slaughter slaxtɛr 32, 100.
sledge(-hammer) sled 111, 129.
sleep vb. slip 9, 170, pt., pp. slipit 170.
sleeve sli:v 9, — sleeved sli·ft 88.
sleight slɪçt 43, 133.
slidder slɪdɪr 41.
slide sloid, pt. sle·d, pp. slɪdn 155.
sling slɪŋ, pt. slʌŋ, pp. slʌŋ 158.
slink slɪŋk 158, pt. slɪŋkɪt 168, pp. slʌŋk, slʌŋkŋ 158, slɪŋkɪt 168.
slit slɪt 42, 89, 167, 169, pt., pp. slɪt 169.
slough slʌx 48, 66, 113.
Smail sme·l 102.
small sma: 30, 102, sup. sma·ɛst 75, — *small-bulked* 'sma:'bukit 146.
smart adj. sme·rt 24.
smeddum smodɪm 27, 93, 109.
smit(e) smɪt 42, 167, pt., pp. smɪtɛt 167, pp. smɪtn 168.
smith smɪθ 138.
smithy smɪdɪ 41, 111.
smittle smɪtl 146.
smore smo:ɛr 34.
snail sne·sl 23, 131.
snake sne·k 22.
snead sne·d 11.
sneck snek 26, 117.
sneeze sni·ʃ 104, — sneezing (snuff) sniʃɪn 141.
snell sne·l 26.
sniff snɪf 42, 44.
snivel sni·vl 13, 44.
snod snod, sne·d 35, 111, 141.
snow sna: 29, — vb. snja:v 91, 116.
soap so·p, se·p 21.
sock sok 35.
soft saft 31, — soften safn 132, 143, — *softie* safte 143.
soil sb. soil 54.

soldering sʌudrɪn 58.
soldier sodʒɪr 75, 102, 127.
sole (window-sill) so·l 34, 70.
some sʌm 47, 83.
song sɑŋ 33.
soon si·n 8.
soot sɪt 45, 67, Deeside si·t 67.
sore se:ᵊr 3, 20, 70.
sough sux 36, 61, 90, 112.
soul sɑ:l, sʌu'l 58, 71.
sound sb. su·n 37.
sound adj. su·n 37, 67.
souter sutɪr 37.
sow sb. su: 37, (stack) su: 102, — cpd. straw- stre·'su: 80.
sow vb. ʃɑ:v 29, 104, 105, 116, 163, pt. ʃu: 38, 104, 163, pp. ʃɑ:vn 163.
sowans so:ənz 71.
spade spɑ:d 30, 61, 63.
Spain spe·ŋi 26, 77, 78, 98.
spale spe·l 21, 69, 70.
spang spɑŋ 78.
spark sb., vb. (splash) spɪrk 43.
spate spe·t 22.
speak spik 11, 161, pt. spak 33, 161, pp. spokŋ 94, 161.
spean spe·n 68, 171, pres.-p. spe·nɛn 68, pt., pp. spe·nt 68, 171.
speed spi·d 9.
speer spi:r 13, 70.
speel (climb) spi·l 13, 70.
spell spe·l 69.
spend spe·n 26, 65, 68.
spew (vomit) spju: 38, 140.
spin spɪn 158, pt. span 158, pp. spʌn 124, 158.
spindle spɪnl 40, 101.
spirit spi·rɪt 13.
spit spɪt 42, 86, 162, 166, pt. spat 162, pp. spɪtn, spʌtn 162.
split splɪt 169, pt., pp. splɪt 169.
splore splo:ɛr 70.
spoon spi·n 8.
spouts sputs 37.
sprawl sprɑ:l 30, 102.
spread spri·d, spred 12, 67, 169, pt., pp. spred 169.
spring sprɪŋ 158, pt. sprɑŋ, sprʌŋ 158, pp. sprʌŋ 142, 158.
sprouts spruts 37.
spruce sb. spru·ʃ 104.
spruce adj. sprʌʃ 104.
spurtle spʌrtl, spʌrkl 100, 145.
spy spɑ·e 54.
stag (young horse) ste·g 91.
stair ste:ᵊr 23.
stale ste·l 21, 23.
stall, see finger-stall.
stall-collar 'sta:'kolɛr 30.
stand sta·n, stan 65, pres. p. stanɪn, stʌnɪn 6, 65, pt., pp. sti·d 8, 67, 142, 163, — sb. dim. stanɪ 124.
stank (pool) stɑŋk 33, 133.
star sta:r 30.
starch ste·rtʃ 24.
starve ste·rv 24, 75, pt., pp. ste·rvt 76, 167, — starver (chill) stervɪr 145.
staunch ste·nʃ 25.
stay sb. stɛi (o ðə ke·rt) 55.
steal sti·l 11, 19, 167, pt. sti·lt 167, pp. stʌu'n 58, 71, 168.
steam ste·m 11, 12.
steek (to close) stik 1, 12, 70, 134.
steel sti·l 19.
steer sb. sti:r 19.
steer vb. sti:r 9, 19.
step vb. stɑp, step 32, 63, 86.
stewy (dusty) stju·i 65.
stey stɛi 54.
stick sb. stɪk 1, 36, 42.
stick vb. stɪk 134, 160, 166, pt. stak 33, 160, pp. stʌkŋ 94, 160.
stiff stɪf 1, 42.
stilts stɪlts 41.

stime stəim 53, 132.
sting staŋ 33, 167, pt., pp. staŋt 76, 167.
stink stɪŋk, pt., pp. stɪŋkɪt 167.
stint stɪnt 41.
stipend sti·pɪn 124.
stir stiːr 13, 19, 71.
stirk stɪrk 41, 83, 138.
stitch sb. stik 13, 70, 135.
stite stəit 54.
stithy stʌdɪ 6, 49, 111.
stock (fellow) stok 35.
stockings stokɛnz 36.
stoiter stəitɪr 76, 100.
stomach stʌmək 31.
stone sti·n 17, -stone 80, — stone-blind 'sti·n'blɪn 80, -*cold* 'sti·n'kaːl 80.
Stonehaven sti·n'ha·ev, st''na·ev 57, 80, 115.
stool sti·l 8, 19.
stop vb. stap 31, 63, 75, 76.
stot stot 35, 138.
stoup (post, prop) stup 178.
stourie sb. dim. stu·ri 64.
stoury stu·ri 146.
stout stut 37, 102.
stowp (jug) stʌup 58.
straight straxt 33, — straighten straxn 143.
strain stre·ɛn 22.
strang (urine) straŋ 33.
stravaig stre'veːg 25, 78.
straw streː 20, 60, 80.
street strit 9.
streek sb. strik 13, 70.
strength strɪnθ 42, 97.
stretch strik 12, 13, 70, 135, 169.
stride strəid, pt. stre·d, pp. strɪdn 155.
strike strɪk 44, 67, 160, pt. strak 84, 160, pp. strʌkŋ 160.
string strɪŋ, pt. straŋ, pp. strʌŋ 158.
stripling strɪplɛn 44, 66, 145.
strive stra·ev 53, 155, 157, 166, pt. striːv, pp. strɪvn 155.
strong stroŋ, straŋ 33, strong-boned 'stroŋ'bi·nt 146.
strunge strʌndʒ, strʌnʒ 6, 136.
stubble stɪbl 46, 101.
stuff vb. stʌf 76.
stupid stjupit 73.
such sɪk 40, 41, 59, 82, 90, 102, 135, sɪkən 99, 154, — suchlike sɪk'ləik 82.
suck suk 37, 67, — sucker (cow) sukər 145.
sudden sʌdɪn(t) 93, 132, adv. 'sʌdɪntlɪ 96.
sugar ʃugɪr 49.
suit sb., vb. ʃut 103.
summer sɪmɛr 44, 46.
sun sɪn 44, 47.
Sunday 'sʌndɪ 47.
sunder sɪnər 44.
sup sʌp 84.
supper sɪpɛr 46.
supple supl 38.
sure siːr 8, adv. siːrlɪ, ʃuːrlɪ 74.
surprise sər'pra·ez 54.
swallow sb. swalə 32.
swallow vb. swalə 33, 102, 131.
swan swɑn 33.
swarf swarf 33, 34.
swarm swarm 33.
sway (swinging rod) swa·e 55.
swear swiːr 11, 19, 159, 167, pt. swoːər 159, swiːrt 167, 168, pp. swo·rn 159, swiːrt 167, 168.
sweat vb. swəit 55, 57, 67, 73, 155, 156, 157, 166, pt. swe·t 155, swəitit 168, pp. swɪtn 155, swʌtn 156, swəitit 168.
Swedes swadz 33, — Swedish swadɪʃ 33.
sweep swəip 55, 170, pt., pp. swəipit 170.
sweir adj. swiːr 9, 19.

swell swaˑl 33, 65, pt., pp. swaˑlt 167.
swick swɪk 42, 81.
swill swiˑl 13.
swim swiˑm 13, 14, 68, sum† 14, pt. swam, swaˑm 168, swiˑmt 167, pp. swiˑmt 167.
swine swəin 147.
swing swɪŋ, pt. swaŋ, pp. swʌŋ 158.
swivel swiˑvl 13.
sword suːᵊrd 36, 90.
sye saˑe 52, — *syer* saˑeɪr 145.
syne sɪn, səin, siˑn 53, 108.

t

tacketie ˈtakətɛ 76.
tail teˑɛl 23, 24, 71, 72.
take tak 32, 63, 70, 162, 163, pt. tuk 36, 162, pp. tiˑn 17, 132, 162, 163.
tale teˑl 21, 23, 24, 69.
tame teˑm 22.
taupie taːpe 30.
tave tjaːv, tʃaːv 30, 65, 91, 92, 116, 136, 163, 166, pt. tjuːv 163, 164, tjaːvd 168, pp. tjaːvn 163, tjaːvd 168.
teach titʃ 169, pt., pp. titʃt 140, 169.
team tiˑm 11.
tear sb. tiːr 153.
tear tiːr 11, 159, pt. toːər 159, pp. torn 35, 159.
tease (wool) tiːz 11, 76.
teat tɪt 41.
teet tit 18.
tell tel 42, teˑl 69, 78, pt., pp. taːl, telt 126, 169.
tempting tempɪn 131.
ten ten, teˑn 26, 150.
tenant tenɛn 131, 139.
tenth tent 150.
than ən 108.
thank θaŋk 33.
that dem. ðat, at 3, 32, 108, 153, rel. ət, ᵊt 153.
thatch sb. θak 12, 32, 134, vb. θik, θak 12, 13, 70, 135, 169, — thatcher θakɛr 100, 145.
the ðə 154.
theets θits 10.
theft θɪft 66.
their(s) ðeːᵊr, ðer, ðeˑᵊrz 152.
then an 108.
they ðeː, ðe 152, acc. them ðem, ðəm 152.
there ðeːᵊr, ðeːr 10, 31, 82.
thick θɪk 42.
thief θif 9, 66, 139, — *thiefy* θifi 88.
thig (beg) θɪg 41, 129, — *thigger* θɪgɪr 145.
thimble θʌml 49, 66, 123.
thin θɪn 6, 81.
thing θɪŋ 41, 147.
think θɪŋk 42, 169, pt., pp. θoxt 36, 169.
third θɪrd 41, 102, 150, 151.
thirsty θrɪste, θɪrste 41, 74, 103.
this ðɪs 104, 153.
thistle θrɪsl 41, 132.
thole θoˑl 34, 61, 70.
Thomas tam 31.
thousand θuˑzɪn 37, 73, 95, 132, 150, thousandth θuːzɪnt 150.
thrash θraʃ 33, 63, 105, 162, 163, pt. θriʃ 162, 163, pp. θraʃn 162.
thraw(n), see throw.
thread sb. θriˑd 9, 67, vb. θriˑd, pt., pp. θred 170.
threat θrit 11, 67.
three θriː 150, — threefold ˈθriːfaːl 151.
threep θrip 11.
threshold θraʃl 33.
thrift θrɪft 42.
thrive θraˑev 53, 155, 157, pt. θriːv, pp. θrɪvn 155.

throat θro·t 35.
throe θra: 12, 29.
throng θraŋ 33.
through θrau 58.
throw θro:, pt. θru:, pp. θro·n 164, — (to twist) θra: 29, 60, 163, 164, pt. θru: 38, 163, pp. θra:n 60, 163.
thumb θu·m 37, 61, 66, 67.
thunder θʌnɛr 75, 77.
Thursday 'fi·rzdɪ 8, 115.
thwite fəit 53, 117, 145.
tie ta·e 140.
tig (to tease) tɪg 41.
tighten tɪçn 143.
tile təil 53.
till vb. tɪl 41.
till tʌl 102.
timber tɪmɛr 41, 123.
time təim 52.
tinker tɪŋklər 182.
tire təi'r 53, 65.
title titl 18, 19.
to tɪ, tə adv. ti: 104.
toad te·d 20.
tobacco tə'ba:kə 85, ba:ke 78.
tochar toxɛr 36, 145.
tod tod 36.
to-day ðə'de: 90, 130.
toe te: 3, 20, — *-toed* te:t 146.
together ðə'gɪðɪr 43, 110.
ton tʌn 50.
tongs tjaŋz 91, 148.
tongue tʌŋ 48.
to-night ðə'nɪçt 130.
too ti: 4, 8, 60.
tool ti·l 8, 19.
toom (empty) ti·m 8.
tooth ti·θ 8, 19, 147, pl. ti·θ 9, 19, 147.
top tap 31.
topmost 'tapmɪst 149.
torrie tore 36.
tough tjux 36, 112.
toused tuʃt 104.
tow tʌu 58.
towel tu:əl 37, 70, 71.
town tu·n 37, 81, — -town -tən 80.
trag trag 32, 133.
trail tre·ɛl 23, 72.
train tre·ɛn 22.
travel tre·vl 22.
treacle trəikl 56.
tremble trɛml 42, 78, 123.
trench trɪnʃ 42, 136,
trifle trɛfl 47, 101.
trig trɪg 41, 129.
trot trot 35.
trouble trɪbl 46.
trough trox 112, 138.
trowel tru·əl 37.
true tru: 38.
truss tʌrs 48, 103.
try tra·e 74, 140.
Tuesday 'ta·ezdɪ 53.
tumble tʌml 48, 76, 78, 101, 123.
tune (humour) ti·n 8.
tup tɪp, tʌp 45, 46, 67.
turf trʌf 103.
turn tʌrn 97.
turnip nip 10, — -seed nip sid.
twathree 'twaθrɪ 81.
twelfth twalt, twʌlt 51, 133, 150.
twelve twa·l 33, 102, 115, 150, — twelvemonth 'tʌumɪn 58, 90, 102, 115, 124, 147.
twenty twɪntɪ 40, 42, 131, 150, Byth twɛntɪ, twʌntɪ 50.
twice twəis, twəiz 53, 87, 151.
twin(s) twɪnz, twʌn(z) 50.
two twa: 31, 90, 150, — twofold 'twa:fa:l 151, — twopence tɪpɛns, twa:'penez 148.
tyke təik 53, 135.
tyne təin 53, 170, pt., pp. tɪnt 40, 43, 66, 170.

U

udder ɛdɪr 109.
Udny wɪdnɪ 90, 152.
umast, see *eemost.*
unco 'ʌŋkə 77, 97, 108.
undeemous on'di·mɪs 9, on'di:mənt 96.
under ʌnɪr 48.
understand ʌnər'sta·n 125.
up ʌp 48.
uphill 'ʌphʌl 50.
uple (clear up) ʌpl 128, 139.
uplings adv. ʌplɛnz 75.
upon ə'po, ə'pon 84.
upper ʌpɛr 149.
us hɪz, hʌz, z, s, 44, 46, 67, 83, 152.
use sb. i·s 4, 8, vb. pt. i·st 140, — useful 'i·sfɪ 75.

V

vase ve:z 84.
vein ve·ɛn 22, vəin 55.
venture ventɪr 105.
visit vi·zɪt 13.

W

wade wəid 56, 57, 93.
wager wad † 33, 129, wadʒɪr 32, 70, 136.
wage(s) wa:dʒ, wa:dʒɪz 31, 129, 138.
wailing we·lɛn 31.
-wair't (ill-, well-) 'ʌl-, 'wi·lwa:rt 30, 31.
waistcoat wəiskɪt 56, 76, 88.
wait wəit 55, 155, 156, 157, 166, pt. we·t, pp. wɪtn 155, wʌtn 156.
waken wa:kŋ 30, 94, 143.
wale (choose) wəil 21, 56, 57.
walk (shrink) wa:k 30, 75, — *walk-mill* wa:k mɪl 30.
wall wa: 30, 138.
walnut wa·lnɪt 30.
wand wa·n 26, 31.
wander wanɪr 33, 100.
want wɪnt, wʌnt 51.
war wa:r 30.
warm warm 24, 33.
warn warn 33.
warp (to put the first row of stitches on to the knitting needles) warp 33.
wash waʃ 32, 105, 141, 162, 163, pt. wiʃ 162, pp. waʃn 141, 162, — washing-day 'waʃɛn'de 81.
wasp wasp 32.
water watər 32, 38, 70, — vb. 100.
way wa·e 55.
we wi:, wi, wɪ, wɨ, wə 9, 152
weak wəik 56, 57.
weakling wəiklɪn 75, 145.
wear wi:r 11, 19, 30, 159, 166, pt. wo:ər 159, pp. worn 35, 159.
weary wi:ri 9.
weather wɪðɪr 44, 109, 110.
weave wəiv 19, 55, 57, 155, 156, 157, pt. wi:v 9, 155, 156, pp. wɪvn 155.
web wab, web 26, 33.
wedge wadʒ 33, 129.
Wednesday 'wɪdnzdɨ 43, 93, 125.
wee wi: 144.
weed wəid 55.
week uk †, wik 1, 14, 36, 90.
week vb. wik 18.
weigh wa·e 55.
weight weçt 28, 29, 31.
weird wi·rd 16, 17.
well sb. wa·l 33, 69.
well (adv.) wi·l 11, 70, — well-favoured (comely) 'wi·l'fa:rt 182.
west wast 33.
wet wit 10, 37, 67, — vb. wit 57, 156, 157, 160, 166, 170, pt. we·t 156, wet 170, wat 160, witit 168, 170, pp. wɪtn 156, wʌtn 156, 160, wet 170, witit 168, 170.

wether wɪdɪr 44, 109.
whack xmɑ:k, xmɑk 30, 118.
whale xmɑ:l 31, 60, 102, 118.
whalp xmɑ:p 30.
whang fɑŋ 117.
what interr., rel. fɑt, fʌt 32, 117, 153, 154, indef. xmɑt 118, — what one (which one) fʌtnə, 'fʌtn'ni·n, fʌtni·n 94, 154, — whatsoever 'fʌtsəm,ɪvɪr 98, — what way (why) fət'wɑ·e 55.
whaup xmɑ:p 118.
wheat fəit†, xmi·t 118.
wheel xmi·l 9, 118, 119.
wheeple xmi·pl 118.
wheezle xmi:zl 118.
whelk xmɬk 42, 118.
whelm fʌml 49, 103, 117.
whelp (puppy) fʌlp 42, 49, 74, 117.
when fɑn, fʌn, fɪn 33, 52, 82, 117, — whenever fɪn'ɪvɪr 119.
where fa:r 30, 82, 117, 121.
whether fɪðɪr 110, 117.
whey fa·e 54, 117.
which fʌlk 49, 102, 117, 154, fʌtʃ 134.
while sb. fəil 53, 117.
whin fʌn 49, 117.
whinge xmi·ŋg, xmi·ndʒ 118.
whip sb. fʌp, xmip 14, 49, 117, (gust of wind) fʌp 118, 119, — *whip-the-cat* fʌp ðə kɑt 118.
whirl fʌrl 49, 115, 117.
whirr xmɪr 118.
whisk fʌsk 49, 106, 107, 117, 119, 122, 132, *whisked* (with a long, bushy tail) fʌskɛt 117, 122.
whisker (beard) fʌskɛr 49, 106, 117, 122, dim. fʌskərə 100.
whisky fʌskə 49, 106, 117.
whisper xmɪspɛr 118.
whist xmɪst 119.
whistle fʌsl 49, 117, 132.
white fəit 53, 117, 118, — white-headed fəit hidɪt 65, 146, — *Whitehills* fəit'hʌlz 118.
whiten fəitn 117, 143, — whitening fəitnɪn 76, 94.
whiting fəitɪn 117.
whitlow fʌtlɛ 49, 66, 117.
whitret fʌtrɛt 49, 117.
Whitsunday 'wʌtsndɪ 118.
whittle sb., vb. fʌtl 49, 117, 145.
who, whom, whose fɑ:, fɑ:z 31, 83, 117, 152, 153, 154.
whole he·l 20, 23, 26, 59.
why fu: 117.
wick wik 1, 10, 67.
wicket wɪkɛt 42.
wide wəid 53, — widen wəidn 93, 143.
widow wi·dɪ, widɪ 13, 70, 73.
wife wəif 53, 139, dim. wəifi 6, 88, 'wəifɪki 144.
wild wəil(d) 16, 126, 127, 128.
will sb. wʌl 84, vb. wʌl 49, pt. wɪd 40, 46, willing wʌlɛn 78.
will (erring) wʌl 6, 49, 126, 128.
Willie wʌlɛ 143.
win[1] wɪn, wʌn 5, 39, 50, 77, 158, pt. wan 67, 158, wʌn 90, pp. wʌn 47, 142, 158.
win[2] (dry corn) wɪn, wʌn 50, 158, 159, 166, pt. wʌn 158, pp. wʌn 158.
wind sb. wɪn 40, wi·n (Banffs.) 68, winded wɪnt 124, windy wɪnɪ 40, — windmill 'wɪn'mʌl 81.
wind vb. wɪn 39, 81, 158, 159, pt. wan 158, pp. wʌn 158.
windling wɪnlɪn 145.
window wɪndɪ, wɪnək 34, 40, 125, 133, dim. 'wɪndɪki 144.
wing wɪŋ 42.
wink wɪŋk 41.
winter wɪntɪr 41.
wire wi:r 14, 15, 19.
wish wʌs 49, 66, 107,

wisk sb. wɪsk 41, 106, 122, vb. wɪsk, wʌsk 50, *wisker* (needle sheath) wʌskɛr 49, 106, 122.
wisp wʌsp 49.
wit wʌt 49.
witch wɪtʃ 41, 134.
wite sb. (blame) wəit 53, 153.
with wɪ, wi·, wi: 83, 108.
within wɪ'θɪn 108.
without wɪ'θut 108.
wizen wɪzn 40, 95.
wo interj. wo: 3.
woe we: 20, — woeful 'we·fɛ 31.
woman ʌmɛn 6, 79, 90, 147, pl. wɪmɪn 43, 147, 148.
womb (belly) wəim 55, 57, 67, 123.
wonder wɪnər 44, 100.
woo wu: 38.
wood wɪd 40, 44, 45, 46, dim. wɪdɪ 74.
wool u: 2, 37, 90.
word wɪrd, wɛrd, wʌrd 39, 44, 50.
work sb. wark 33, 34, 124.
work vb. wʌrk 49, 83, 169, pt., pp. vroxt 35, 116, 169.
world wardl 33, 34, 103.
worm wʌrm 49.
wormwood wʌrmɛt 49, 133.
worse wa:r 30, 69, 148, worst warst 33, 34, 148.
worsted wʌrsɛt 48, 133.
worth wʌrθ 49, 50.
Wrae vre: 116.
wrapper vrapɛr 116.
wrench rɪnʃ 42.
wretch vratʃ 33, 116, 134.
wright (carpenter) vrɪçt 41, 116.
wring vrɪŋ 116, 158, pt. vraŋ, pp. vrʌŋ 158.
writ vrit 16, 116.
write vrit 15, 160, rəit 155, 156, pt. re·t 155, 156, vrat 160, pp. vrʌtn 160, rɪtn 155, 156.
wrong vraŋ 33, 116.
wudden wʌdɪn 49, *wudden dream* wʌdɪn dri·m 99.
wup 'to tie' wʌp 178.
wynd wəin 53, 67.

y

yard[1] (garden) je·rd 24, 130.
yard[2] (measure) je·rd 24.
yarn jarn 33.
yaup ja·p 30.
ye, see you.
yea je: 20.
year i:r 81, 91, 147.
yearn gri·n 13, 70, 103.
yeisk i·s, jɪsk 44, 91, 107, 130.
yeld i·l 10, 69, 91, 126, 130.
yell jel 42.
yellow jalə, jalɛ 33, 130, see also gold.
yestereven (yesterday) ðə'stri·n 114, 130.
yet jɪt 5, 43.
yoke jok 35.
yon sg., pl. jon 35, 153, yonder jonɪr 35, beyond ə'jont 35, — *Yonderton* 'jonərtən 80.
you ji: ju, i:, jɪ, jɛ 9, 10, 38, 104, 152, your ju:r, i:r, jɪr 10, 152, yours ju:rz 152.
yowl jʌul 71.
yuky joke 91.
yule i·l 8, 91.

In Preparation:

A Grammar of

The Buchan Dialect

(Aberdeenshire)

Descriptive and Historical

Vol. II

Syntax

by

EUGEN DIETH, PH. D.

CAMBRIDGE
W. HEFFER & SONS LTD.